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THE COMING RENAISSANCE

The Coming Renaissance

BY

The Lord Bishops of Truro, Lichfield and Plymouth, the Rev. Canons T. A. Lacey, W. Barry, the Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, the Rev. Dr. Carlile, the Rev. Dr. W. Adams Brown, the Rev. Dr. Shakespeare, Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. St. Loe Strachey, Dr. David Starr Jordan, Dr. J. C. M. Garnett, Professors Patrick Geddes, J. Arthur Thomson and A. E. Zimmern

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INTRODUCTION

EIGHT years ago man was cast, at a moment's notice, out of Paradise into Purgatory. We did not call it Paradise while we lived there; perhaps Adam and Eve only spoke of "this garden" till they were turned out of it. We are still bewildered and doubtful whether it was a Paradise of fools or of wise men, and what was the particular apple, of the many with which we regaled ourselves, the eating of which had such staggering consequences. Or, if, remembering another story, we call it the Apple of Discord, did we err in giving it to Juno, or to Minerva, or to Venus? Above all, how are we to get back, if we want to get back; and if not, whither shall we wander in search of fresh fields and pastures new?

Of course there is a Babel of voices, each crying his own panacea, and pelting the scape-goat of his choice. The villain of the piece was either the German Government, for planning to subjugate the world, or the Russian, for planning the same thing, or ourselves, for having no plans, or the politicians, or the soldiers, or the capitalists, or the Jews. And the way out is by a new birth of Catholicism, or Protestantism, or Natural Science, or Education, or Monarchism, or Socialism, or Conservatism, or Liberalism.

It is best that we should all have our say, and a collection of opinions by earnest men, such as the contributors to this volume, helps in the great debate. Each writer naturally has his own point of view, and we can make allowance for it. The layman will probably think that the professional cleric exaggerates the importance of the not very fruitful overtures towards unity of command in ecclesiastical organisa-

tions, and perhaps will not be much moved by the "disastrous ignorance of the elements of Christian truth" displayed by Tommy in the trenches. Others may doubt whether Science and Education can by themselves do much more than sharpen the teeth and claws of the *bête humaine*. But it is right for a man to believe in his own trade; and we need the contributions of all.

The expectation of a "new world after the war" was one of the illusions which had to be dispelled. Human nature and inhuman nature both remain unchanged, and they are our masters. Our chief gain in wisdom has been negative; certain bladders have been pricked.

Pascal said: "*Les inventions des hommes vont en avançant de siècle en siècle: La bonté et la malice en général reste la même.*" This doctrine might have seemed depressing before 1914; now it is rather reassuring. There is no reason, in spite of the horrors of the last eight years, to suppose that human nature has deteriorated. The commonplaces of the moralist against materialism, covetousness and sensuality are always justified. *Numquam nimis dicitur quod numquam satis discitur.* But an impartial reading of history will not make us think that the world was more virtuous in other days.

But it is something to have learned that merely environmental progress is only skin-deep. This has always been the doctrine of Christianity; but we were accustomed to think that human nature had really changed—that we had become softer and more tolerant and more humane. We even feared that if there were a great war we should be found poor fighters compared with our grandfathers. The call to arms dissipated these fears and hopes alike. Never before have human beings shown such amazing courage, endurance, resolution and self-sacrifice. And never before has war been so unchivalrous and so cruel.

Man, as Virgil says about the spirit of Discord, has his feet on the clay and his head among the clouds.

Forms of government have been found to have neither the merits nor the faults attributed to them. Those who half unwillingly admired the efficiency of the German monarchy, as Plato admired without loving the Spartans, have discovered that under an autocracy all is in order until we reach the top, and that there we find nothing but vacillation and impotent swagger. Those who babbled about making the world safe for democracy have discovered that the democratic French are, as they always have been, the most bellicose of nations, if not the most ruthless of conquerors. The humanitarian pretensions of Marxian Socialism have been drowned in the blood of two million innocent men and women, butchered in cold blood by their fellow-citizens.

We have found also that when a nation is fighting for its life, it will observe no rules of international law. And when we have further realised that in the most modern warfare the attack has beaten the defence, that sieges are over because no town can be defended, we shall understand the terrible danger in which civilization stands to-day. Disarmament or suicide—this seems to be the alternative.

I will not join the Essayists in predicting a new Renaissance. The conditions of such a movement are very obscure ; the Spirit bloweth where it listeth and thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. I should rather expect a slow convalescence in the West and Centre of Europe, and in the East a relapse into barbarism, for in that part of the world civilization seems to have been not only mown down but uprooted. But I have no wish to prophesy. If the "new Renaissance" comes, it will be very welcome.

W. R. INGE.

EDITOR'S NOTE

It is one thing to cry "The Renaissance is at hand," and quite another to persuade the public that really it is so. A more difficult task still awaits whoever would essay to enlist the active sympathies of men and woman in the coming Renaissance, for civilization is still very timorously conservative despite its present-day proneness to make experiments. Even though material solidity is hardly anywhere, frail faith, struggling with dominating doubt, is reluctant to aspire because it lacks confidence. Who, looking around, but can agree?

The discerning can see signs on every hand of things which tend to confidence; can see abundant tokens of new life, Spring after the blasting Winter of War. And yet there is no trust; "Oh, ye of little faith," is doubly true to-day.

Yet, is this lack of confidence a matter either for wonder or contempt? Wrecked though the old world may be, it is still something familiar, whereas these old but ever new elements of the new world frighten by the very spirit, or ethos, which is their strength and hope. "Better a world of the broken and decayed fragments we know," men cry, "than attempt to make the world afresh from these unrecognized and as yet un-co-ordinated units."

The beauty and strength of the Renaissance, when faith and confidence have opened the eyes, is indeed sure of recognition. But general recognition can only come by understanding, and understanding by patient tutoring on the part of those qualified by study, sympathies and toleration working hand in hand.

Presenting this idea to thoughtful readers on a plan which reveals that the components of the spectrum of progress are but the variants of the pure and beautiful light that is to guide the coming Renaissance, is surely worth the doing. To continue the metaphor, the blending harmony of spectrum tints and the oneness of its source form the parable that civilization must learn and which, when learned, will bring us very much nearer the Ideal than ever before.

With this object, contributions on the many phases of consideration the subject involves are here brought together in the hope that, thus assembled, they may help and enlighten such as may be of earnest purpose for the future of the great human family.

No serious attempt to delineate a course of future conduct can ignore the lessons of the past. Precedent is valuable; the lapses which departures from sound precedents have caused, as well as the follies which a too rigid adherence to them, merely because they were precedents, have thrust into history, are patently sign-posts. It is, therefore, appropriate and useful, after the opening chapter, in which the Right Hon. C. F. G. Masterman powerfully enforces the lesson that the post-bellum situation "is not a collapse of the European Faith caused by the War; it is a collapse revealed by the War," that the Rt. Rev. J. H. B. Masterman should give some survey, in compact form, of those years during which the Europe of the Twentieth Century received some of its moulding influences, a period stretching back to the Thirteenth century, for the processes of evolution are slow.

Having in this way shown the reader the capacity for destruction and demoralization the ugly forces of unbridled passion possess, the subject then passes into a many-sided consideration of the inhering

vital elements—spiritual, social and moral that are at work to bring about the dawning of the New Age. The writers try to interpret signs and prophecies of an old world in the process of re-making, demanding the application of loftier ideals, more widely embracing principles and surer methods of advance than, hitherto, have prevailed. They do not merely deplore or combat the evils of the past but they seek to reveal the possibilities of the richer civilization to be. The supreme and dominant conception running through these chapters is the regeneration of the race.

The writers strike, not the leaden tones of despair, but a new note of certain hope. Professor Zimmern boldly asserts that "the world, too long ridden by make-believes, is crying out for men and women strong enough and wise enough, and confident enough to make their own discipline and to imprint it upon the world—and the call seems likely to be answered." The regenerated race these writers see is coming to birth; to them, the larger and nobler civilization is actually upon us, they give voice, and, perchance, a new life to the long silent and even thwarted aspirations after a regenerated humanity. This is their present and hopeful attitude and it is with these transcendent problems that this book deals.

The Bishop of Lichfield, the Bishop of Truro, Prof. Adams Brown, Dr. Carlile and Dr. Shakespeare endeavour to show the higher manifestations which religion will exhibit in the days to come, a subject to which Canon T. A. Lacey also contributes. To them it will not be a religion of dogma or form. The old divisions between secular and sacred will disappear; the Church, united in purpose, and under the guidance of the Spirit will become the centre of a great movement of organized goodness for social redemption.

Science, Education and Philosophy inevitably

claim place in the arena and are represented by Professor Patrick Geddes, Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett and the Rev. Wm. Canon Barry. From the ripeness of his long service for mankind, Canon Barry maintains that Thought, rather than matter, is the Great Postulate; that Mind is the eternal ether in which all things real are bathed; the light which all are seeking, and which—inbreathed by the Spirit of God—remains the ultimate of all life and work. Independently, Professor Patrick Geddes shows that the isolation of what are really branches of Science, into self-contained studies, defeats human endeavour; and so both these scholars are at one in their plea for unity in exploring these fields. They also find themselves on common ground with the writers already mentioned in maintaining that the hope of the coming Renaissance lies in unity of purpose and harmony of trust in "things unseen." The text of unity is further emphasized by Dr. Garnett in dealing with education to fit for Renaissance Life. He points out the central objective toward which all education must tend, by pruning, to become more practical and to develop potential capability—and proceeds to show, after a plea for the concentration of training and aim, how in the Renaissance Age it can be accomplished.

The theme then passes, by natural progression to more individual elements of Renaissance, and the effect of the newer sociological and economic outlooks upon the future of civilization. Dr. Starr Jordan introduces the consideration, and in arguing for a reassessment of human values, places stress on the widening of human understanding of each other through the agency of "loveableness," the triumph of individual idealism carried on into racial and international development. This, he believes, was on the way before 1914 and is the vitally needed germ in Renaissance. He enunciates a gospel of

happily intercommunicating internationalism by abolishing "the tyranny of the frontier." In doing so he prepares the reader for the later more emphatic elaboration of the topic by Professor Zimmern.

But first, as befits a modern outlook, two chapters are from valued women writers, Lady Frances Balfour and Mrs. St. Leo Strachey, by whom the work of women toward the New Era and the wider scope for women afforded by the more liberal vision of the times are canvassed. Mrs. Strachey sees the rightful sphere of womanhood in family life and places emphasis on her influence in moulding the material of Renaissance, arguing that the mother is the architect of race-regeneration. Lady Frances finds in the newer outlook a partnership between the sexes which shall result in clearer understanding and finer ideals, and so carry on with greater effect the machinery of the better life in civilization's new day of Renaissance.

The main contention of Professor Zimmern is that no lasting Renaissance can come unless the unification process is international and through the workings of a world conscience. "There is," he writes, "a sense of the inadequacy of external organization and the need of a truer harmony proceeding from within—knowledge, spirit and faith—and actuating men conscious of its unifying potentialities." As to be expected, therefore, he lays emphasis more on the value of personality in leadership than on the collective wisdom of leagues or federations.

The wide-ranged examination contained in the following pages closes with a notable and enlightening monograph by Professor Arthur Thomson. He goes down to the deep roots of life and demonstrates how important it is to eradicate from racial life all those poisons which pollute, and, in the end, destroy it. Taking for his thesis observable biological and general facts and factors in Nature: Nature as she is, un-

fettered by any artificiality of civilization, and the parallels which may be made in regard to human life, habit and conduct, Professor Thomson proceeds to build a structure of living, conformity with which will tend to racial renaissance through individual well-being.

To the ordinary politician in our Parliaments, unversed in the inter-relations and persistence of human faculties as well as disabilities, these vast conceptions are apt to be assessed as not of real moment ; and yet the clear thinker will discover that the reverse is the truth. Without disrespect, it might, indeed, be suggested that much of the work of the party politician will ultimately count for less than naught for the generations yet unborn, and posterity will realise that the men who really work for the permanent benefit of humanity are men such as Arthur Thomson represents : this is said with no desire to deprecate the work of the politician. Politics must of necessity take a high rank amongst those influences which fulfil the immediate needs of society, for politics is the art of seizing the tendency of minds at any given moment and of welding together the prevailing needs and interests which rightly seek to be satisfied. Politicians, indeed, of the type of Gladstone, who have a supreme ability for anticipating the will of the people before the people themselves are clearly conscious of what they desire, have in that way become the real leaders of the people. By helping to give proper direction to public opinion they also give direction to the more permanent aspirations of the heart of man, and thus raise the ideals of the nation and help to mould the lives of future generations.

Now, with respect to the coming Renaissance, there are some seers among us who are looking for more than a revival of our national or imperial life. They foresee the coming of a new race which shall

inherit from both hemispheres those fundamental principles, born out of the world of physical sciences and the spiritual world, which primarily spring from the same source, and are parts of one stupendous system. It may be that East and West shall combine to bring about the coming civilization, for it is being discovered that if the human heart and mind have common ideals, then East and West may bring their common contributions to the great whole.

The spiritual world, on all sides, is daily becoming more real: it cannot be dismissed without leaving us wondering, and hoping in our hearts, that there is something more in the world than is dreamed of in materialistic philosophy. Now that the War period is receding into history, it is coming more into focus. It will still be many a year before its true perspective will be clearly aligned, but, still, the blur is lessening and some faint perception of outline is to be discerned. Among the earliest to visualise that the "something more" is only achievable by a greater appreciation and application in terms of practical Christianity has been the Church, as represented by its leaders, both in the Established Church and Nonconformity. Those chapters which deal with the Church as it has been, is, and will be, delineate frankly the post-war realization of where there had been many a failure—before and during the War—to recognize opportunity and to take it at the flood. The pages of that section, too, confess to a restriction in the past of true Spiritual vision by effort being directed unduly to social problems of amelioration and betterment, to the loss of Spiritual power.

But, when all is said and done, when short-comings have been honestly taken note of, and met, it is, of course, foolish to deny that centuries of Christianity have left their mark upon the earth, or that Christian civilization, although it is now thrust into the melting

pot, is divided by a great gulf from the civilization of the earlier Renaissance. It would be wholly foolish not to recognise that when the call of national duty arose and the nation responded, that response was made possible by the centuries of religious teaching of the value of self-sacrifice and the duty of mutual service. All that and much more must be placed to the credit of organised Christianity as it exists to-day among us. And it must further be said that we must look to the regenerated Churches for the prevention of a future catastrophe to civilization.

It is evident, too, that a new conception of duty has been awakened in all sections of society as one result of the War. We therefore see that in these several directions the mighty task of lifting up the true ideals of life and of revealing the true way of life will become the task, not only of the Church, but of the School and of the State as well.

Such, then, in brief and imperfect outline is the programme of the ideals and methods of race-renewal given in these chapters. For ends no less than this shall religion and science, long sundered and still in part estranged, join hands in the coming time over the cradle of the unborn, and it may be as of old that "a little child shall lead them." "And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations."

J.M.

Royal Institution.

THE NEED OF RENAISSANCE

What the War Revealed

Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, M.A., P.C.

The Lesson of the Past

Rev. Canon J. H. B. Masterman, M.A.
Bishop of Plymouth

WHAT THE WAR REVEALED

" This is not a collapse of the European Faith caused by the War. It is a collapse revealed by the War."

I REMEMBER in the Cabinet discussions in August 1914 one morning when tempers got more than usually irritable and conversations passed from their normal appeal to reason. The minds of men had become frayed and battered by the continual sittings of day and night, and the gigantic prospect of evil opening before them, as if a volcano was suddenly bursting apart the streets of London. Mr. Asquith wisely suggested that we should adjourn for a short period : and we went out by the great windows of the Cabinet room, 10, Downing Street, to the terrace beyond. That terrace commands a fine view of the Horse Guards Parade and St. James' Park right up to the Admiralty, from the top of which the huge Wireless Station was already signalling messages of warning to the British Fleet all over the world. It was a hot sunlit August Bank Holiday. We looked down on crowds who had come out for enjoyment, and who, though a little disturbed by the newspapers, never in the least contemplated that they could be fighting upon European battlefields. I remember conversing with a companion rather more on the lines of regret than uncertainty. For inside the Cabinet room were despatches showing that already Europe had fallen to pieces, the factories and the fields had

become deserted, in all countries the young men were discarding the garments of peace and being equipped with the dreadful weapons of war. We were looking on men doomed to die, on widows and orphans with hearts destined to be broken. That we knew; but we were looking on much more than this, and that we none of us completely realised. We were looking upon the death of a civilisation, the end of an age.

Looking back now, I don't think that we will be blamed more than others, for blindness to the sign of the time. Britain was the only nation completely equipped for the service which it was prepared to render at the outbreak of war. But apart from that fact, I still think that it would have been a mistake to mould ordinary life on the supposition that Europe intended one day to commit suicide. The Conference at Versailles has pronounced an interim report on the guilt of this suicide; but one is more inclined to sympathise with Dr. Simon's quiet protest that the Conference of Versailles cannot anticipate the verdict of history. Certainly all the guilt will not be awarded to one man, one nation, or one single set of madness. The whole European Society had steadily drifted into a state of morbid tension and passion. Armament was heaped on armament until the cost became too great to be endured; and men thought they could find a "short cut" to a better state of things by rapidly blowing these armaments to pieces. Men gazed angrily across high Protective barriers, interfering with trade, and protected by the rifle and the machine gun. The forces of peace which should have been vigilantly active during every hour of the day—the International Church, the international Labour movement, international finance and effort at organised understanding and friendship between nation and nation—these were

all disorganised or half awake, while the forces of war worked night and day in the ammunition factories and in spreading sentiments of greed, hatred and revenge. It was a Society becoming more cosmopolitan in the knowledge each of the other—especially amongst its upper classes—more desirous of pleasures, more materialistic, more indifferent to an ideal which had once been preached alike by Liberalism and the European faith. The thing was aggravated by the increasing fissure between rich and poor, which made social discontent vocal in every land, and which no land could either appease or forget. We can see now that Society was advancing along calamitous lines. And it is difficult to believe that anything short of a great religious revival—something comparable with the coming of the Christian faith into that Roman Society which had settled down to enjoy itself and thought itself immortal—could ever have denied, even if it had delayed, the catastrophe. Posterity will declare that the wonder was rather not that it came so soon, but that it was averted so long. For more than a decade Europe was a powder magazine with sparks flying daily all round it. At length one spark penetrated ; and the old Europe blew up and disappeared.

To-day we are living amongst ruins. Many hard things have been said about the old world now seeming so far away as to be scarcely remembered. I must confess I prefer it to the new ; where in the general overturn of reason and compassion, all unclean forces which have been held in check for decades or centuries seem for the moment triumphant. Other writers in this volume are, I believe, engaged in the more grateful task of pointing out the elements of Renaissance : a work of infinite helpfulness. My function

is to describe the process of dissolution : to point out, to those who still believe that the old world can be reconstructed again by the mere process of cementing together their shattered dwellings and palaces, that they are living in a land of dreams.

Before the war there was held by the mass, intelligent and uneducated alike, a vague idea of " progress." Without undue human self-sacrifice or conscious effort, things would steadily " get better." There would be more food, better houses, more leisure, more enjoyments, more and cheaper motor cars, more popular newspapers. The thing would, as it were, shove itself forward more steadily, year by year. And although few were troubled, as John Stuart Mill was troubled, by the problem of what could be done in a world with all realizable reforms accomplished, most had a vague belief that no more general cataclysms would disturb the Social advance towards knowledge and cleanliness and happiness. " This 'ere progress," says the hero of one of Mr. Wells' pre-war novels, as he contemplates the growth of mechanical invention, " it goes on. It can't 'elp going on." Five years of disaster unparalleled in human record have revealed that " this 'ere progress " can not only " 'elp going on," but can turn on itself and tear down its own constructions, so laboriously erected. These have proved that there is no such thing as " progress," except that which is maintained by the ever vigilant and fiercely fighting will of humanity against the perpetual forces of corosion and decay.

You may consider for example one comparatively small item—the question of the regulation of war itself. For decades Geneva and Hague and other Conferences had laboriously endeavoured to get

certain humane rules established, by which the terrors of war, if it ever came, might be removed from the non-combatants. In a few months after the outbreak of the European conflagration all these codes became merely "scraps of paper." The nations fought animated by fear, just as fear was the overwhelming motive cause which made them fight at all: and fear is the meanest of the deadly sins. Germany snapped a treaty and over-ran Belgium because "Necessity knows no law." Where they invaded they imposed terror as the order of the day, not from personal brutality, but because it was a "necessity" of holding down Belgium. Britain replied with the blockade which endeavoured to starve combatants and non-combatants alike and killed and maimed tens of thousands of German children. Russia ravaged East Prussia until thrown out of it. The combats in the Balkans resembled the fights of the early Middle Ages, with murder, mutilation and atrocity uncontrolled. Turkey—ally at one time of England, at another of Germany—exterminated its Armenian population by methods whose sickening records especially in the treatment of women and children revealed by official documents, eliminates the word "progress" altogether from the picture. You are back behind Tamberlane and his pile of human skulls. One side introduces poison gas, the other at once imitates it. One drops bombs from the air on the civil population, the other in response to popular clamour, follows suit. So that on one occasion the occupants of a motor 'bus outside Liverpool Street Station are blown to fragments, and at another a bomb decimates a procession of little girls at a Sunday School fête in the interior of Germany. Illustrations might be continued indefinitely. The populations grew more insane in hate

and fear as they grew more tired and tormented by the war. For they knew that the war meant only one result, " Woe to the Vanquished." And in lack of an international appeal—for rarely before have *all* nations been involved—they seized the first weapons which came to their hands, in order that this " woe " should not come to themselves. It is like a prize fight in which the two combatants begin with all the accustomed regulations, but are found at the end biting, kicking and clawing at each other in the dark. And the final result of it—The " Treaty " of Versailles and its companions—would seem to stamp into the minds of men that lesson which the best thought of Europe had hoped to have been abandoned—that nothing can be worse than the losing of such a war ; and therefore that everything—honour, fidelity, treaty, compassion—must be sacrificed in order to win.

Here then has gone the careful mechanism for the protection of " non-combatants." In modern war there are no non-combatants. And if the violation of women and the spitting of children on spears has continued to be discouraged West of Belgrade, it is recognised as perfectly legitimate to starve them to death, to bomb them from the air, or to burn them in their houses. Napoleon refused to save his army by burning the suburbs of Leipzig, and in the desperate campaign of 1814 issued a passionate protest against the invaders burning Soissons as a violation against the " laws of war." During the War there were no " laws of war," and towns were burnt like so much matchboard when " Military Exigencies " demanded it. The nations are to-day preparing inventions of gas which will flow quietly over cities and destroy within them every living thing—the fighters, the old,

the boys and girls playing in the streets. The new " Renaissance " will have to decide on three alternatives :—whether to encourage the making of war so horrible that humanity will never dare to embark upon it : or to attempt to construct a new code of humane rules, which it will probably see vanish like the last : or to endeavour to make wars to cease through all the earth.

One may pass from the war which has been " won " to the peace which has been " lost," and consider the downfall of civilisation, both in its material and moral aspect. The latter is perhaps more serious for the ideals and aspirations of men. For with such, codes built up from the Stone Age are far more influential than any questions of the ruin of buildings, the destruction of harvests or the collapse of world credit. Yet these latter cannot be neglected. If the mind of the world is in delirium, its body is scarred and maimed. Recovery of the body will indeed take place if aught can be found to minister to the " mind diseased " ; but the body can never be restored to the condition it might have attained if the disaster had never occurred.

There are first then the actual material losses. Factories and workshops have been smashed to fragments. So tens of thousands of the habitations of many great stretches of country—as for example in Eastern France or Western Russia—have been rendered for the time uninhabitable. Population has continued to increase, but the male young adults of the warring nations have been partially destroyed. Millions are dead, millions are maimed and broken, and it is only the work of this young male adult population which can keep the remainder in comfort and security. The bodies of them lie scattered

through all the fields and forests of Europe—each one once a wealth-producing, intelligent machine, whose value even in hard cash would run to many hundreds of pounds. The fields have not been sown; the harvests have not been reaped. Food is the keynote of the situation, for houses and even clothes—except in the northern winter—are quite subsidiary to this first requirement of humanity. And in some of the great granaries of the world, such as Southern Russia, food has failed altogether to be produced, and men and women and children perish in a vast area of famine, and the pestilence which famine brings. In others, such as for example Western Canada, the natural development of rich food producing lands, which was continuing at great speed before the war, has been arrested by the ceasing of emigration, and enrolment of the young for fighting: so that this potential superfluity cannot be utilized for the assistance of the starving. Economists compute that there is still enough food in the world to feed its existing population with the bare necessities of life. But the difficulty then resolves itself into one of transporting the food to the people or the people to the food: and transport in such districts as Russia has largely collapsed. And beyond this is a difficulty far greater than food or transport—the question of payment. How are starving peoples with no possessions to compensate the food producers for the results of their labour? Is Middle Eastern Europe to be turned into a huge spongy mass of pauperism, fed by free doles from America, Canada and Argentine, or paying in worthless promises of an ever increasing and almost valueless paper debt?

More serious than the collapse of currency and internal inflation of prices, is perhaps the collapse of

international credit. Upon this system of International Credit, modern civilisation was built. It may have been a good system or a bad ; but it alone made possible what is normally called " civilisation " : and unless it can be restored, such civilisation perishes. It was dependent on two factors—confidence ; and the actual capacity for wealth increase. Producers, for example, could obtain money to pay wages in distant places, for the cost of seed and the sowing of the harvest, through the guarantee of huge international firms who would " back " a promise to pay at some future date, when the product of the harvest was reaped. The same system would be used to build up and equip factories and generally to develop the wealth-bearing resources of the world. Over a great part of the world at present, that credit system has ceased to operate. The money is not advanced, partly because the credit is not there—the nations being too much burdened with debt and heavy taxation to pay debt, to be able to make loans for devastated lands. Partly, too, are advances restricted because confidence has been destroyed. A man cannot obtain the advance necessary to build and equip a factory and to pay his men to produce, if it is exceedingly doubtful that any customer can be found to purchase the manufactures when produced.

This reduction of credit means in some cases unemployment on a large scale, as in England, with the unemployed living on " doles " extracted from the employed by the State. In other nations it results in almost complete stagnation of Trade, as in Austria, or a return to some primitive system of barter, as in parts of Russia. All kinds of efforts are made to advance a few millions of credit to start the clock going amongst the nations where the clock has

stopped. But no restoration of credit is possible without a moral as well as a material Renaissance: the flinging down of barriers, the appeasement of nations, the "slamming to of the door of the temple of Janus, so that it will never be opened again."

And the result of all this is that the continuance of civilisation in some of its oldest centres—Vienna, Munich, Moscow—is precarious, and its triumphant advance even amongst the victors, doubtful. Nothing but a new heart and spirit—something fundamentally differing from that which to-day broods over a tormented world—animating all humanity, and determined to rescue humanity from permanent shipwreck—can be adequate to cope with the gigantic calamity that has fallen upon mankind.

Some possibility of at least an approach toward such a new spirit seemed at one time to be opened, like a slash of blue sky across the storm clouds. That was at the close of 1918 and the succeeding months, when the great proclamations of President Wilson for a "fresh start" were being read eagerly by millions and seemed to be evoking a universal response. It may be we over-estimated the general effects of these great appeals to reason, understanding, compassion: that the "dark forces" of hatred, fear and revenge were even then too strong to be overcome by such demands. But I am not sure that if at that most critical moment in the history of the world the President had appealed, if necessary, to the common people behind their rulers, there might not have been evoked a response which would have been irresistible. But the rift between the clouds was closed over. The man who had voiced all the best in Democracy and humanity in such utterances became himself involved in the "thieves' kitchen" of Versailles and in party

politics at home. And the result of those months of intrigue and quarrel and greed left him alone—signing a Treaty already proved unworkable, and condemned by all: rejected by his own people in whose strength he seemed to have proclaimed the doctrines upon which alone a New World could have been built: and finally vanishing from the scene on which it appeared he would play so large a part, with all his work undone.

So much for the material collapse. But this is a trivial affair—as one looks across decades or generations—compared to the moral destruction. No solitary good thing has come out of the war to encourage and strengthen the moral advance of mankind, nor has all the enormous waste of blood and treasure settled one single problem which was unsettled before the war. The few who believe in God and immortality have had their faith shaken, but with the majority it remains unchanged. The few who preach a gospel of humanity while denying these affirmations are also a little shaken, but undismayed. The overwhelming majority believe in neither, except as a dim inherited faith from their forefathers which they cannot completely dispel. And the war has not changed these vague emotions and unbeliefs. A remarkable volume issued in the Autumn of 1920, of testimony from Chaplains and others at the front, showed the British Army at least, as good-natured, acquiescent if with some grumblings, at religious ceremonial, but utterly bewildered at Death and the constant presence of Death—like blind children going out into the darkness. This is not a collapse of the European faith caused by the war. It is a collapse revealed by the war.

In most previous contests where men had to face

battle and sudden death, the religion of the people has stood firm. It was so to a large extent in the Napoleonic wars—at least as far as the " common soldier " was concerned. It was so in the great struggle of four years between North and South America, where " both sides," as Lincoln declared, " appealed to the God of Battles " and revivalist evangelist Protestant belief was characteristic amongst both those who " fought against invasion " and those who fought " to make men free." This war has produced no religious revival and has been followed by no religious revival. The minds of the survivors are more confused or more indifferent than they were before the war came. It has partially crushed any optism which believed that the beauties of Nature, or intellectual culture, or the fellowship of humanity, would be sufficient to urge all men forward to an age of optimism and gold. But it has failed to revive those sombre and terrific beliefs which are more congruous with and are bred from, a world at war. The intellectualists have attacked Christianity—the Catholic and the Protestant faiths—but these are born out of a world of darkness and sudden death, and every word of their prayers and creeds arise from experience of a world of similar desperate circumstance. But European civilisation rests on these faiths ; and if they have departed, civilisation as understood in any but a term of reproach, has gone—leaving only material hunger for personal and private gain.

And apart from personal, national or international religion, these five years have left a desperate legacy of hatred, which cannot be dispelled for generations. This does not apply so much to England ; but England has not suffered, and will not suffer as Europe has suffered, from loss and destruction. Germany hates

France after three years of peace, and France hates Germany, more than they hated each other before or during the conflict. The fierce fissured Nationalisms carved out of the Austrian Empire are mainly occupied in attempts each to injure the other. Down in the Balkans each victor or vanquished would almost be content to be destroyed, if also they were guaranteed the destruction of its neighbours. This legacy of hate is eating deep into the life of the individual and family. It does not depend on the action of rulers although it is but faintly discouraged by them. It is entering the text books of the schools. It is unappeased in each home which mourns its dead or finds the task of economic recovery almost impossible. One can foresee a Europe in which the old soldiers—as after the Napoleonic Cataclysms—having forgotten their sufferings, pour out stories to the young of heroism, adventure and endurance, above all, of determination towards revenge ; that revenge which, as Gambetta said, he is equally traitor to the nation who mentions it or who forgets. What force is organising to counteract this drifting toward some ultimate collapse of mankind ?

But for this poison in the minds of men, the catastrophe would not be ineffaceable. Just as the cornflower and poppy cover all the hideous scars of the battlefield with a radiance of beauty, so one could imagine humanity "coming to himself" from the darkness of its immense folly and wickedness into a purifying sunlight of softened emotions, presaging an efflorescence of moral beauty, giving out the fragrance of true peace. If all the nations, united as brothers, were able to expel these foul vapours of hatred, revenge and avarice from their minds, there is little that could not be restored speedily in actual material

destruction. The land recovers and the corn waves over a thousand forgotten battlefields. Cities and cathedrals can be rebuilt or preserved as monuments of the time when the world went mad. The unemployed now maintained by doles in England and abroad, could, if they were set to work, clear up with no greater expense to the nations concerned, all the ruins and ravages of war. Even the vast national debts, seemingly so crushing to-day, are tribute paid to individuals and not a levy which the world of mankind has to pay to some hostile power outside. One could imagine a scene similar to that of an early day in the French Revolution, when all the wealthy possessors of debt would suddenly resolve that they would no longer levy Blood Tribute on their own fellow-citizens, but would do in bulk what some have done as individuals—burn or return their " Bonds " and free men from the danger either of national bankruptcy—or of fissuring into those who work as " wage slaves," and those who have put themselves in the position of receiving the product of their labour by the guaranteed payment of dividends and debt. One can, as I say, conceive it, but it remains as a construction of dreams, a cloud city. For on this solid ground the struggle grows even harder for the few to accumulate and the many to live : and the spirit of fraternity and sacrifice burns dim.

" Thus small," wrote Lecky of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, " were the changes effected in Europe by so much bloodshed and treachery by nearly nine years of wasteful and devastating war. . . . International antipathies and jealousies had been immeasurably increased, and the fearful sufferings and injuries that had been inflicted on the most civilised nations had not even purchased the blessings of an assured peace."

The changes of the "Peace of Versailles" have not been small, although impermanence is written across them. But the remainder of the verdict might have been written to-day. Yet Europe survived many such a peace, it may be argued, and will therefore survive another. Those who thus reason must, however, remember how much the centre of gravity, even of the white race, has shifted from Europe to undevastated lands beyond the sea; how much the races which are not white have been awakened by the apparent suicide of their conquerors, into thoughts of rejecting a domination which at one time seemed assured; and how on the much greater issues the smashing to pieces of the "nations in arms," has replaced the comparatively small subsidized organisations of the middle of the eighteenth century.

To-day we are faced with two curious facts. The one is that in such conscripted nations as England, war weariness and the memory of war weariness is so acute that a "conscription" for almost any purpose would probably be counteracted by revolution; and that the Volunteer Army is only maintained with the utmost difficulty and probably owes its existence mainly to unemployment. The other is that subsidy and research are busily engaged in invention of fresh and more tremendous weapons of destruction, so that poison gases are being perfected, compared to which, those used in the war were but the instruments of children; and plans elaborated by which, in the "next war," great cities may be wiped out without the use of rifle or bayonet and their whole populations destroyed like an ant heap or wasps' nest. While both these processes continue, the mass of the people, confused beyond measure and with no clear guidance, desiring above all things no war recurrence but fearful

of possible attack from outside, are endeavouring either to repair their own battered fortunes or to drown foreboding of the future in present pleasure. And although some statesmen, like Lord Grey, in published utterance, indicate that here is the final choice, and humanity has to make peace or perish, no clear movement has yet been revealed by which the men of all nations, confronted with this sober fact, have risen up and declared with unanimous voice, that wars shall be no more.

As I had written long before the catastrophe occurred, civilisation had revealed this uncontestable fact, that material invention had completely outstripped moral progress. Humanity in 1914 had found itself like a company of children playing with power, equipped with enormous apparatus of destruction, without the rational and moral restraint which could have enabled it to see that anything was better than the use of it. It was not indeed aware of all it could do with such apparatus. It did not know then that it could shell towns eighty miles away or scatter submarines and torpedo merchantmen all over the seven seas, or of the terrific effects of a " blockade " directed against a city-dominated land, which had depended largely on imported food. It made " progress " in five years' experience, through the invention of the tank, the perfection of the bombing æroplane, the elaboration of chemical products in gas and shells which could destroy whole battalions with every accompaniment of suffering. Has the moral progress now overtaken the material ? Or is there any chance of such an overtaking in the immediate future ? That is for the other writers of this volume to demonstrate. But is it demonstrable beyond power of question that the moral level of reason and sacrifice

and devotion to the common good of all people was never high enough in the civilisation which existed before 1914, to prevent the destruction of that civilisation as we see it to-day.

The challenge emerging from a dead civilisation to any New Renaissance is, therefore, to find both machinery and spiritual energies adequate to the creation of a world which must be built on other lines. Without these spiritual energies machinery alone can do but little. But machinery is necessary even if these spiritual energies develop. For there are dark forces drifting into the minds of men which cloud the vision of the wisest and make useless the desire of the good. There were whole civilised communities before 1914 which had no wish for aggrandizement and in which a vote would have shown 90 per cent. at least against any war at all. Such were, for example, the peasants of Bavaria or the Tyrol (religious, generous, tolerant, humane), upon whom war has brought ruin, or, on the other side, nine-tenths of the people of the United States, who were sucked into the vortex: and probably a substantial majority of the people of these islands, who had remained unmoved by the hysteric appeals to cowardice and cupidity, maintained by a section of the popular press. They ate, they drank, they married and were given in marriage, until the Flood came and destroyed them all. No one but a blind optimist will believe that all nations and all individuals are going to learn the lesson, eschew national rivalries and those personal greeds which often assist the force of national rivalries, and thus in a universal recantation and reconciliation render for ever impossible the killing of men by men. There is no easy recipe, such as some advocate, for the curing of this fast-rooted disease in the minds of men,

The whole history of Europe for generations has been that of perpetual conflict varied by brief and confused periods of armed peace. Substitution of Republics for Kings, and Aristocracies for Democracies, will probably make but little difference. Some of the fiercest and most warlike nations in the late war — for example, in the Balkans—were Democracies with the Kings merely as figure-heads. It was "nation rising up against nation" as much as "kingdom against kingdom."

The questions to be asked are more searching: the problems more profound. Can mankind be persuaded into a fundamental abhorrence of war, as something intolerable and obscene, to abstain from which any course is preferable? Can spiritual light and healing be restored to the sons of men? "The visible speedily becomes the bestial," wrote Carlyle, "when it rests not on the invisible." Is there an "invisible" to be revealed upon which the "visible" may rest? Can a fresh start be made with the new generation, while the old tired men who are cynical or despairing stand aside? Or will the old inject the young with their own cynicism and despair? the attitude of work replace the attitude of pleasure? Can the wealthy be induced to make such sacrifices as will bridge the gulf between rich and poor, and produce a commonwealth out of a company of conflicting classes? On the answer to these questions the hope of the New Renaissance depends.

THE LESSON OF THE PAST

" The breakdown of the modern world has been the inevitable result of the failure to Christianize international relationships."

THE title of this volume naturally suggests a comparison between the circumstances of our own time and those of the fifteenth century. While laying stress on the continuity of history, the historian is bound to recognize that there is an Apocalyptic element that enters into it. From time to time the vital forces of human progress seem to become exhausted, and reversion to a condition of stagnation is only averted by the rebirth of human society. The fifth century B.C.; the beginning of the Christian era, the renaissance of the eleventh century are conspicuous examples of this process of renewal. It was in the sixteenth century that the modern world was born. Then, as now, the great majority of the people were probably more conscious of the disintegration of the system of thought and life that they had inherited than of the process of re-integration in which they were, half unconsciously, taking part. In the middle of the fifteenth century it must have seemed to many a cautious observer that the world was gravitating toward chaos. War was losing the glamour of romance with the rise of the professional soldier: the peasant was confronted by new economic forces that threatened his simple standard of life and the security of his position; the ecclesiastic was

conscious that his dogmas were no longer accepted without question, and that the failure of the Church to maintain its own moral standards was leading men to re-examine its credentials. In the adventure of commerce, the advance of the Ottoman Turks was slowly obstructing the old trade routes, and as yet no fresh ones had been opened.

Looking back over European history, we can recognise, more clearly perhaps than the men of the fifteenth century, that the process of disintegration had been at work for more than a century before its results became apparent. The two great institutions that had shaped the life of mediæval Europe—the Empire and the Papacy—had long been crumbling under the influence of new ideas in political and religious thought. The beginnings of the New Learning go back to the end of the thirteenth century, the Black Death had changed the economic structure of European life, the spirit of enquiry had been stirring before Aquinas and Dante gave to the mediæval theological system its final interpretation. Yet the new world did not grow out of the old by a natural process of evolution. "The modern age did not proceed from the mediæval by normal succession, with outward tokens of legitimate descent. Unheralded, it founded a new order of things, under a law of innovation, sapping the ancient reign of continuity." There is an Apocalyptic element in all the great turning-points of history. "Anyone who works through the records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries becomes conscious of an extraordinary change of mental attitude, showing itself on all sides in unexpected ways. He finds at the same time that all attempts to analyse and account for this change are to a great extent un-

satisfactory. After marshalling all the forces and ideas which were at work to produce it, he still finds that there was behind all these an animating spirit which he cannot but most imperfectly catch, whose power blended all else together and gave a sudden cohesion to the whole."

It is easy to fall into the habit of idealizing the later mediæval period, and failing to recognize how largely the spiritual momentum of the world had become exhausted by the end of the fourteenth century. The new order which gradually shaped itself through the struggles of the sixteenth century was, it is true, only partly Christian, but it was probably not less Christian than the older order that it displaced. The Papacy had proved itself quite as incapable of protecting the spiritual values of the world as the Christian Princes of a later period were destined to prove themselves. The failure of the attempt to hold Europe together in one Christian Society became apparent when the vacillations of Sigismund and the craft of Martin V. frustrated the attempt of the Council of Constance to achieve the purification of the Church "in Head and Members" that might have changed the history of the world; and the failure of Western Europe to avert the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turk showed that the crusading impulse had exhausted itself. The influence of Nationalism had already begun to act as a disintegrative force, and as the old dream of a world-state faded, the old local loyalties of feudal and municipal life gradually gave way before the new doctrine of the supremacy of the Central Authority of the independent nation-state.

Political disintegration brought with it religious disintegration, as soon as it became clear that the

" old wineskins " of the mediæval ecclesiastical order could no longer hold the new wine. The Reformation was a many-sided movement. Beginning—especially in England—as a reaction against the secular pretensions and insatiable greed of the papacy, it gathered strength as the New Learning broke the bonds of scholasticism, and brought the materials for theological reconstruction within reach of the thoughtful layman. From the time when Lorenzo Valla exposed the pretended Donation of Constantine, and began the textual criticism of the Vulgate, scholarship was occupied with a task comparable in magnitude to the Higher Criticism of our own time. Reuchlin studied Hebrew in order to give back to the Church the authentic text of the Old Testament, while Erasmus, in his Greek Testament, opened a way along which more careful scholars could follow. The scholars of Northern Europe appealed back from Aquinas to Augustine, and from Augustine to St. Paul. Protestantism confronted the claims of an infallible Church with those of an infallible Bible ; at first, when struggling for life against the forces of the Counter-Reformation, it showed itself as intolerant as Rome had been, but the right to freedom of opinion was implicit in the conception of authority that it asserted. Yet it bore within it the seeds of its own dissolution. Churches founded upon opinion were bound to develop a disintegrating tendency as soon as external unity was no longer imposed on them by secular authority. And when the doctrine of the infallibility of the Bible was challenged, Protestantism found itself without a common foundation. It was a magnificent spiritual adventure, and if it did not discover a new way to the East, it opened up new worlds of thought and experience. But, except in

the case of the English Church, it lost the sense of continuity that belongs to the idea of a living organism, and purchased its freedom at a great price. It will be the task of the new Renaissance to find the synthesis that shall reunite these "halves of one dissevered world."

The rise of the middle classes to influence in Western Europe was the most important social fact of the fifteenth century. It was among them that Protestantism found its strongest supporters. But the new world of commerce gradually escaped from the influence of religion. At the time of the Renaissance the Canonists were considering the moral aspect of the new economic conditions. Now that avenues for the productive expenditure of wealth had opened up, the old prohibition of usury required to be modified. In the Canon Law of this period a clear distinction was drawn between interest, which was regarded as compensation for the loss of opportunities of profitable use while the money was in the hands of the borrower, and usury as an attempt to take advantage of the financial needs of a fellow-Christian. The Church still included Avarice among the seven deadly sins, and taught that the desire to acquire wealth in excess of the sum needed to enable a man to fulfil the duties of his status was sinful. It is interesting to put two statements side by side.

"Trade is rendered lawful when the merchant seeks a moderate gain for the maintenance of his household, or for the relief of the indigent; and also when the trade is carried on for the public good, in order that the country may be furnished with the necessaries of life, and the gain is looked upon not as the object but as the wages of his labour."

"I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good. It is an affectation, not, indeed, very common among merchants, and very few words need be employed in dissuading them from it."

The first of these quotations is from S. Thomas Aquinas, and the other from Adam Smith. The contrast between them is a measure of the distance that economic ideas had travelled in the interval. The new Renaissance is resuming the effort to find a moral basis for economic life.

The disappearance of Serfdom in Europe was a slow process, and at its earlier stages was due mainly to economic changes. But the peasant was adversely affected by the substitution of legal relationships for the older relationships based on custom. England led the way in the substitution of the wage system for the older system of personal service. The landowner began to calculate his wealth in terms of money instead of in terms of men. The transition from status to contract went on much more slowly in other countries, from the Peasants' Revolt in Germany to the French Revolution, but the moral foundations of feudalism were shaken with the substitution of permanent military forces for the old national militia, and the gradual dissociation of rights from duties in the modern conception of property.

The life of the town craftsman was deeply affected by the gradual breakdown of the mediæval Guild system, partly through the oligarchic and conservative tendencies of the Guilds themselves, and partly through the encroachments of the State on local self-government. It is very significant that the new Renaissance should see in the revival of

Guild organizations a way to escape from the existing industrial conditions.

While the Renaissance scholars were "voyaging through strange seas of thought," the insecurity of the old trade routes was driving other adventurers to exploration in search of new ways to the Indies. The chapter in modern history that begins with Henry the Navigator and Christopher Columbus ends with Livingstone and Stanley and Rhodes. It is not easy to measure the difference between a world around which the unknown lay as a constant challenge to adventure, and the same world with all its area mapped and known. Throughout the whole period, religious and commercial motives intermingled. The missionary and the trader sailed together in the galleons of Spain, or in the ships that followed the Pilgrim Fathers to the New World, as they sail together to-day for East Africa or China. While the unknown world was still yielding its secrets to the explorer, Copernicus and Galileo became the pioneers of a new adventure, the full results of which are only even now only imperfectly realized. The limits of the physical universe have extended almost beyond the range of human imagination, and religious thought has been obliged to adapt itself to a wider view of the purposes of God.

The transition from mediæval to modern Europe began when human thought found in the rediscovery of the ancient world a call to re-examine the foundations on which its religious and political life had been built up. Economic changes, the decay of the old feudal order, the awakening of national self-consciousness, all played their part in the process. Europe in the sixteenth century was full of the throb of a new life. But the bright hopes of the Renaissance period

soon grew dim. The centrifugal tendencies of the Reformation movement proved stronger than the centripetal: by lifting the ethical standards of the Old Testament almost to the level of the New, Protestantism founded its theology on a conception of God that was only partially Christian, and found the lesson of toleration hard to learn. The sword of the Hapsburgs and the missionary enthusiasm of the Order of Jesus won back for the Papacy the allegiance of Central Europe, and inaugurated a century of religious wars that culminated in the hideous brutalities of the Thirty Years' War. Religion, as a dominating force in the public life of Europe, perished with the sword that it had taken. Large tracts of human experience escaped from its control Art, Commerce, Literature, no longer submitted to its authority, and while they expanded in the atmosphere of freedom, that freedom was obtained at a great cost in the loss of their sacramental character. In the absence of any international authority whose moral judgments could be accepted, political thought tended to identify might with right. The doctrine of the omnipotence of the State was the product of the Reformation, and though Luther might idealize the Christian prince, the naked realism of Machiavelli divested the State of any moral character, and laid the foundation of a school of European diplomacy that reaches from Ferdinand of Aragon through Frederick the Great to Bismarck and Bernhardi.

The unity of the mediæval world was broken because institutions that it created outlasted the spiritual impulse that gave them value and significance, and were unable to adapt themselves to the needs of an expanding world. The mediæval Church of the fifteenth century was no longer an adequate channel

for the life of the Spirit. As a world-power, it had failed : and the history of modern Europe opens with the establishment of the new system of nation-states, dominated by economic self-interest. Material and intellectual progress was purchased at the cost of the depreciation of spiritual values, and the religious revivals in which the things of the Spirit reasserted their claims on the life of the individual had little influence over the public life of Europe. The break-down of the modern world has been the inevitable result of the failure to Christianize international relationships. The lack of a common religious foundation for public life left international law devoid of any effective sanction, while the absence of any pressing external danger, after the decline of the Ottoman Empire had begun, left the peoples of Europe free to pursue their own interests without regard for the common interests of Christendom. The extension of European control over the extra-European world was carried forward, not as a co-operative spiritual adventure, but in the atmosphere of acute commercial rivalry, and it was not till the early years of the nineteenth century that the tide of missionary enthusiasm began to flow again.

The break-up of the mediæval world showed that the life of the Spirit could not be confined within the channel of ecclesiastical organization. The dream of a Catholic Church exercising coercive authority over every department of human life was shattered at the Reformation, and the new Renaissance must find a way of reasserting the supremacy of spiritual values that will win the allegiance of men by appealing to instincts that lie deeper than self-interest and fear. In one respect at least the new Renaissance is following on the lines of the old. The leaders of the Reformation

submitted the claims of the Papacy to the verdict of history, and that verdict appeared final. It is to the verdict of history that the claims of organized religion are being submitted to-day, and Christianity will only be an effective force in the reshaping of the world if we are prepared courageously to accept that verdict. Writing of this verdict of history, Professor Gwatkin says :

"The Gospel is neither a Protestant idea nor a Catholic organization, neither a Greek Philosophy nor a Latin Law, but a living Person on whom faith can feed continually, and only faith, for it is a plain absurdity to fancy that anything else can have touch of spiritual things. The witness of History confirms the instinct of every spiritual man, that the questions of government, of discipline, of ritual, of dogma, which occupy the noisy world are very minor matters, however needful it be to get some of them settled. History points us back with solemn emphasis to Christ Himself. All Christian doctrine is summed up in Christ's Person, all Christian morality in Christ's example."

WHERE RENAISSANCE MUST BEGIN

What is our Hope?
Rt. Rev. Dr. J. A. Kempthorne
(Lord Bishop of Lichfield)

Realities of To-Day
Rev. Dr. J. C. Carlile

The Problem of Unity
Rt. Rev. Dr. Guy Warman
(Lord Bishop of Truro)

The Great Need
Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, M.A., D.D.
(Secretary of the Baptist Union)

Reunion in America
Rev. Prof. W. Adams Brown, D.D

The Vital Mystery
Rev. Canon T. A. Lacey, D.D.

WHAT IS OUR HOPE?

"I am sanguine enough to hope that some of us may live to see a real re-union of Christendom in one visible fellowship."

TIMES of great difficulty and anxiety have proved, not once nor twice, to be times of new departure in Christian thought and life. Christendom has not always failed to "buy up the opportunity because the days are evil." The coming of S. Francis in the thirteenth century, and the evangelical revival a century and a half ago, are good enough examples of a bright dawn following a very dark night.

There is no need to exaggerate the difficulty of this present time. But it is obvious that we are passing through a period of stress and strain, and that forgetfulness of God is the root of our troubles. The war itself was a "judgment" in the sense that it shewed the inevitable result of the attempt to build up civilisation on self-interest; granted that Germany was the prime offender, "the Europe in which Germany sinned is the Europe of us all." The results of the war are manifest, and the bitter harvest is not yet fully reaped. Peace among the nations is by no means secure. The unrest within the nation, so far as it comes from a desire for fulness of life and fellowship among men, is no unmixed evil, but there is a restlessness (by no means confined to one class) which has its roots in selfishness and envy and may yet lead to disaster. Moreover there is a widespread

tendency to repudiate Christian standards of living; looseness with regard to sexual morality is the most obvious example, but it is only one example of the poison of a revived Paganism which is infecting at least one section of society.

Our present troubles are a thrice told tale. The question which this chapter will try to answer is not "what are our troubles?" but "what is our hope?" Will the world-wide catastrophe of these early years of the twentieth century prove to be a coming of the Son of God not only to judge but to heal and to renew?

A twofold enquiry immediately emerges from the first stirring of thought on the subject: 1. *Is there any evidence of a coming renaissance in religion?* 2. *What conditions must we fulfil if we are to have much hope of a reborn Christendom?*

What do we mean by a "renaissance in religion"? Is it the same thing as a "revival," a widespread conversion of men to God? Such a large and general acceptance of God's Sovereignty is one goal of our endeavour. Nothing is more necessary, and no "renaissance" is possible without it.

But there is something more which is needed. A "renaissance" will include a truer conception of what God is, a more vital religion, which touches human life at every point. It will not formulate any new creed, but will bring us a better understanding of the old. It will not be guilty of the conceit that we are better men than our fathers, or that the modern thought of to-day represents the last word in human wisdom. It will recognise that God who fulfils Himself in many ways has ever new light to shed on the revelation of His character made once for all in Jesus Christ, and that He is ever summoning His children to some fresh service in His Kingdom.

In following the first line of enquiry the primary question will be whether men and women are turning to God ; are there signs of any widespread acceptance of God's sovereignty ? Is there, in a word, any appearance of revival in religion ?

The question does not admit of a hasty answer. Look first at the darker side of the picture. It is imperative to face quite squarely facts which forbid any thoughtless optimism.

Many readers of these pages will have studied the interesting and important book called " The Army and Religion." It contained the result of questions addressed to a large number of representative men—chaplains, officers, privates—as to the attitude of the Army, in other words of our British manhood, towards the Christian Faith. The general verdict was quite clear—that while there was everywhere a leaven of downright genuine Christian belief and life, and an immense amount of unconscious Christianity, there was disastrous ignorance of the elements of Christian truth, and a complete failure to understand the bearing of Christianity on life and practice. The book filled in the outline of the picture brilliantly painted by Donald Hankey. " A Student in Arms," while describing for us the splendid virtues of our men, their courage, their self-sacrifice, their comradeship, their essential humility, dwelt on their pathetic unconsciousness that such virtues had anything to do with Christianity. To be a Christian, in the estimate of the average soldier meant that you must not amuse yourself on Sunday and that you must believe that the whale swallowed Jonah ! The Christian religion, to his thinking, was little more than a self-saving business, a means whereby a person might secure his own personal security and happiness ; and the men

who, with all their faults, were ready to sacrifice their security and happiness every day, had little use for it.

There can be little doubt that "The Army and Religion" bears true testimony. The conception of the glory and beauty of Christ in His strength and love—Christ the revealer of the character of God—the appeal of His leadership in the great venture of His Kingdom, the knowledge of His power to redeem us from selfishness, and to realise our true selves in the fellowship of service, have hardly dawned on the great majority of English men and women. We have had more than enough of the parrot-cry of the "failure of the Church": at all events those who repeat that cry might remember that *they* are the Church. But Christian clergy and teachers must confess that something has been lacking in their presentation of Christianity. To-day the whole Church must face the problem of the future—how to avert the danger of a generation which ignores Christianity because it knows nothing of Christian truth.

Nor is ignorance the only danger. There are many people who know well enough what Christianity implies and who deliberately repudiate not only Christian belief but also Christian morals. The day is long past when men said "we refuse your Christian doctrines, but we accept the Christian standard of morals." Nietzsche pricked that bubble; and in England as well as other countries Nietzsche has plenty of disciples who probably never heard his name: there is in some sections of smart society a frank revival of paganism, and its advocates are obsessed with the grotesque conceit that they are specially modern and up-to-date. Their theories were probably considered modern in the days of Juvenal.

It would be foolish to ignore these ugly symptoms. But there is a great deal to be said on the other side. If there is now, as there always has been, much of the practical "materialism" which is selfishly engrossed in outward comfort and well-being, materialism as a philosophy is dying or dead. Dr. Ward's "Naturalism and Agnosticism" marked a turning-point in the religious philosophy of our country. There is still, in certain influential quarters, an unwillingness to accept the miraculous, but there are few serious thinkers who do not give the supremacy to that which is spiritual. And there is undoubtedly a widespread interest in the unseen realities. The growth of the vague movement called "theosophy," the pursuit of "spiritualism," the vogue of "Christian Science" may be disturbing to those who retain a heartfelt belief in the religion of the Incarnation, and they remind us of the nemesis which follows the neglect of important articles of the Christian faith; but at least they testify to a growing refusal to acquiesce in a narrow and negative materialism.

But a mere interest in religious subjects may be shallow and ineffective. There can be no "new birth" in religion unless there is a genuine acceptance of the sovereignty of a God of righteousness and love manifestly resulting in a new outlook on duty, a new character, a new way of life. Is there any sign of a renewal of vital religion?

In answering this question insular limitations must be avoided. Britain is not the world. It would be very interesting, for example, to know what is happening to the spiritual life of Russia. If precedent counts for anything, it is likely that the persecuted Church of that sorely tried country will have great and precious gifts to offer to the Christendom of the

next generation. Moreover, there are parts of the "Mission Field," such as Uganda and Korea, where important chapters of Church history are being written. I cannot lay claim to the special knowledge which would entitle me to dwell on this larger outlook. But men have learned that the world is one and that the problems of the time are world wide; if Christianity is to solve them, it needs a "renaissance in religion" which shall extend its influence to the uttermost parts of the earth. Thus the greatest advocates of the League of Nations have assured us, with strong insistence, that the League can never achieve its purpose unless it is inspired by strong spiritual motives.

There is one international movement about which I can speak with a certain amount of knowledge. No one who has studied the progress of the Student Christian Movement will easily despair about the future. While it is strongest in Great Britain and America, there is hardly a university in the world which has not felt its influence. It has been my privilege to attend some of the student "conferences" at Swanwick; there could be no doubt of the reality of all that was said and done and the earnestness of those who were present; there was a complete absence of any forced or unnatural pietism. Doubtless some who take part in the movement have the defects of their qualities; there is a certain tendency to impatience, and an occasional desire for hazardous short cuts. But there can be no doubt that a very large number of the leaders of the future are trying to understand what Christianity means and to make it the ruling principle of their lives, and it would be difficult to overestimate their future influence on the different Christian communities to which

they belong, and the countries which they represent.

There is at least a strong Christian leaven in the Universities, and let it be remembered, the Universities (thanks to the Workers' Educational Association and kindred movements) are supplying intellectual leadership to a very large part of the community. But what of the rank and file ? A Bishop, of a fairly typical diocese, might naturally be asked whether he can see any signs of a great turning to God among ordinary people of different classes. It is very difficult to give an answer. There is no promise of any startling " revival " but I believe there is a great deal of inarticulate Christianity among those who hold aloof from organised religion, and, what is more important, there is a growth of real devotion among the best adherents of all parts of the Christian Church. I believe there is a genuine growth of more vital religion.

The natural sequence of expressing such a belief is a question :

" Are there signs of more vital religion ? Is there a truer conception of God, of our relation to Him, of His claim on our lives, and of the power He gives for response to His call ?

If we are reaching out to a truer and deeper Christianity, we are only relearning some old lessons and reverting to an earlier and better type. " Boasting is excluded," and there is no cause to think ourselves better than our fathers. I believe we are slowly moving away from a self-centred toward a God-centred religion. Personal relationship between the spirit of man and the eternal Spirit of God is vital to all religion. But there is all the difference in the world between a personal religion which is concen-

trated on the "saving of one's own soul" and a personal religion which forgets all selfish aims in the whole-hearted desire to do God's will and to further His loving purpose. "Salvation" which does not rise above personal security and peace of mind is a very different thing from a "Salvation" which means deliverance from the bondage of selfishness and self-will and the attainment of such moral and spiritual wholeness as shall fit us to be fellow-workers with the Eternal. "Peace" may be a condition of self-centred quietism: it may be a condition of conscience and will which enables us to make war on the enemies of God and man. Father Benson showed a true understanding when, in response to a pietist who asked him "Brother, have you found peace?" he answered "No, sir, I have found war."

I remember how a well-known Missioner, preaching to Cambridge undergraduates some forty years ago, tried to justify a frank appeal to self-interest. He declared that many men can only be aroused to serious thinking by fear of punishment or by desire for personal happiness. One can only say that if such a crutch is needed, the sooner men can throw it away, the better it will be for their religion. It is difficult to believe that men require a lower motive for enlisting in the service of the King of kings than that which inspired them to take up arms for an earthly king and country. It is a happy sign of the times that another Missioner, in a more recent Cambridge mission, grounded his appeal on God's call to men and women to go out with Him on the great venture of winning the world to his Kingdom of love. If we are told that the greatest of all Evangelists promised a reward to those who follow Him, let us not forget that the reward is the blessed-

ness of finding a clearer vision of God and a better opportunity of doing Him service.

But it is obvious that a nation which is centred not in self but in God, is only possible if we have the highest conceivable idea of God's being and character. Here also the recent Christian thought of our country has been reverting to a truer type. We are learning to repudiate ideas of God which are based on an interpretation—probably a misinterpretation—of some Old Testament teachings which represent a very early stage in the gradual training of the people of God. We are laying hold on what ought to be a very obvious truth, that the one perfect Revelation of God is given us in the person and character of Jesus Christ. God spoke in many parts and many fashions to the fathers by the prophets; He spoke fully and finally in His Son. Doubtless we are still very far indeed from understanding, and farther still from applying to human life, the fulness of that revelation. The character of Christ contains depths which no one generation, or no one people, can pretend to fathom. For such knowledge is needed a really Catholic Church which covers all generations, and includes every nation of the world.

Yet we are at least trying to understand that it is God's purpose to "sum up all things in Christ," in whom are hid all the treasures of righteousness and love. That purpose is a purpose of a Kingdom of God, and He calls on us to be His fellow-workers in its fulfilment.

Here again, in the stress which we are learning to place on "the Gospel of the Kingdom" we are only reviving a very old truth. Mr. Clutton Brock, in his book on the Kingdom of Heaven (to which I

for one acknowledge a great debt) hardly does justice to the earlier teaching of the Church. It is quite true that the thirty-nine articles have not much to say about the Kingdom, but, so long as the Lord's Prayer is placed at the centre of all the liturgies of Christendom, it cannot be said that the King and the Kingdom of Heaven have been forgotten. Indeed, it seems to me that without undue optimism, may be discerned a new effort in our own generation to realise with greater fulness two leading principles of the Kingdom of God—service and fellowship.

We may be thankful for at least one benefit which the war bestowed ; it taught us that the desire to serve can be one of the strongest of human motives. The spirit of service is alive. Ideals of service inspire what is best in the aspirations of the present time. I believe that examples may be found in three characteristic movements—for the advancement of women, the emancipation of labour, the development of education.

The women's movement is not a mere claim for rights. Women have shown themselves capable of the highest intellectual development, and they are breaking down barriers which closed many avenues of usefulness, not in order that they may indicate a barren claim to equality with men, or obtain civic privilege, but that they may use the fullest opportunity of service. The war revealed their will and their power to serve. If the door is closed to them, the loss will fall not so much on womanhood as on the whole community.

Can we say the same of the labour movement ? Neither labour nor any other section of society is free from the old leaven of selfish materialism. But the labour movement at its best claims that industry

is to be regarded not as an area of competition for private or sectional gain, but rather as a large field of service for the community ; and it seeks to remove all that depresses human life and hinders men and women from taking their full part in promoting the common good.

The third example is the most striking. England is at last learning to care for education and to regard it not as a means of acquiring useful information which may enable a boy to "get on," and equip the nation to win in world competition, but as the discipline which develops the whole mind and character. We want our boys and girls to be their true selves—in body, mind and spirit—in order that they may serve their generation by the will of God, giving to God and the community their fullest contribution of character and useful service.

There is, of course, dross mingled with the gold : we cannot pretend that all who promote these movements are consciously promoting the Kingdom. Here as elsewhere there is much inarticulate Christianity. But wherever men are learning the spirit of service, they are not far from the Kingdom of God.

The spirit of self-interest is the spirit of division : the spirit of service makes for unity and fellowship. It has been said that "fellowship is now one of the most overworked words in the English language." It is hardly as yet an overworked reality ! But the Lambeth Conference rightly interpreted the signs of the times when it made fellowship the dominant note of its evangelical letter. "The secret of life is fellowship. So men feel and it is true. But fellowship with God is the indispensable condition of human fellowship. The secret of life is the double fellowship, fellowship with God and with man."

The supreme business of the Church is to bring men into fellowship with God in Christ, and to unite them in the common service of God and of humanity which the Son of God came to redeem. The danger which besets "organised religion" is the tendency to forget the end in the means, and to regard the Church as a mere institution or corporation with its own right to guard and interests to serve. I believe that we are alive to that danger and are seeking to avoid it. So far as the Church of England is concerned, the National Mission which began in 1916, marked an important stage in the advance towards a clearer conception of the Church's purpose. The Life and Liberty Movement has led us on the same direction; it has successfully worked for emancipation, not merely that the Church might have the comfort of shaking off irksome fetters, but that it might be free to do its work more effectively.

If we want to find a test of that work—if we desire to know how the church is living up to the ideals of fellowship and service—those characteristic marks of the Kingdom of God, two questions have to be put :—(i) How is the Church fulfilling its Missionary Vocation? (ii) What sort of witness is it giving to social righteousness? In the answers we shall see whether the Gospel is in action. In its missionary work the Church is seeking to extend God's sovereignty of love; in its social witness it is seeking to apply the principle of His sovereignty to every department of life.

So far as missionary work at home and overseas is concerned, we are at least beginning to regard it not as the fancy of a few enthusiasts but as the supreme duty of the whole Christian society; and while the conversion of individuals to God must

always have a foremost place in our design, our present aim in missionary work is not so much to "save the perishing heathen" as to win all men and all nations to take their part in the divine Kingdom. We have come to understand that God will not be perfectly known, nor His Kingdom achieved, till each redeemed nation brings its glory and honour into the City of God.

As regards our witness for righteousness—social, civic, international—there is no lack of mentors who warn us against meddling with economic and political questions. It is easy enough to say that we must be content with declaring Christian "principles" and that we must leave their application to the "practical man." The trouble is that "principles" are apt to become platitudes and that the "practical men" are incorrigibly prone to take views of human nature which we believe to be contradictions of Christian teaching. One can only say that if we carry into practice the principles of the value of each human person, and of our fellowship in service, the result will be a complete transformation of our industrial economy and our international relations. At present it is difficult to say whether we are more seriously hindered by the reactionary who is satisfied with things as they are, or by the extremist, who tells you that you cannot be a Christian unless you are a communist. The next question is whether members of the Christian Church really accept the Christian scale of values and whether they are ready for the sacrifices which a better order of society must require. At least there is a dawn of hope. A considerable part of the Christian Church has come to believe that, in the words of the Lambeth resolutions, "An outstanding and pressing duty of the Church is to

convince its members of the necessity of nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economic life. This change can only be effected by accepting as the basis of industrial relations the principles of co-operation in service for the common good in place of unrestricted competition for private or sectional advantage."

Looking, then, at the signs of the times, I believe it may confidently be stated that while we have a very long way to travel, and there is no room for easy optimism, we can find many symptoms of the growth of a more vital religion. We are at least reaching out towards a truer conception of God, of His claim upon us, and of the strength which He gives to enable us to respond to His call.

The reader will probably be conscious already that a number of topics have been broached inadequately; indeed, the subject required a rapid survey of many matters which will be treated more fully in other chapters. A similar criticism is inevitable in examining the next large question—*what conditions must we fulfil if we are to have reasonable hope of a reborn Christendom?*

First of all, there is no hope of progress in the Kingdom of God, no prospect of fuller service and closer fellowship, unless there is a growth of genuine devotion to the Person of Christ. This seems obvious enough: and yet there are many attempts to realise the Kingdom of God without the King, a spiritual religion without the Holy Spirit, a Christian ideal without Christ. Such attempts will fail. Doubtless we still have need to learn about the Jesus of history who is also the Jesus of the spiritual experience of Christendom, but unless we find in Him the supreme revelation of God, the perfect ideal of humanity, the

one source of the power which makes for righteousness and love, and therefore the regenerator of social and national life, there can be no renaissance of religion. It is not by striking out new and original lines of thought and action so much as by a more vital appreciation of all that He is, all that He asks of us, and all that He can do, that we can go forward with unswerving hope.

Of course, the objection will be made that we are assuming the very position which is most forcibly challenged. Is Christianity a final and universal religion? Is Christ really divine and human—as truly God as the Father, as truly human as ourselves? Is it true that the Cross stands at the centre of human history, that what happened at one moment of time is eternal in its significance and its results? To answer "Yes" is to make a tremendous claim. Others have justified that claim with a cogency which I cannot command, But I would urge that an answer to the question "Who is Jesus Christ?" cannot be shirked or shelved, and that if we appeal to "authority" in support of our belief in His perfect deity and perfect humanity, it must simply be the authority of the experience of Christendom. That experience does not contradict reason. Many of us would echo the words of St. John in "The Death in the Desert":

> "I say the acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by the reason, solves for thee
> All problems in this world and out of it."

But the intellect is not the whole man, and one can only say that if we are, to our sorrow, unable to accept the deity of Christ as actual truth, it might still be possible to regard Christianity as a mere

decent way of living, the, on the whole, most satisfactory philosophy of life; but we should have to say good-bye to the hope of our religion as life and power for the regeneration of the world.

We must begin with personal religion. Yet a gospel which confines itself to the individual cannot be the Gospel of the Kingdom. Progress cannot be made unless Christians are united in visible fellowship as workers together with God. It is the fashion, in certain quarters, to disparage "organised religion." Doubtless there is a danger of hiding the structure under a mass of needless scaffolding. The personal love of the spirit of man for its divine Father cannot be organised; though even in the region of devotion, order and discipline are indispensable. However "spiritual" men may be, when they start out to spread the knowledge of God, and enlarge upon His Kingdom of Love, they must be united in a common plan and purpose, for, after all, they are not a congeries of atoms, but are members in an organism—the "Body of Christ." The words of the Lambeth Appeal are surely justified: "We believe that God wills fellowship. By God's own act this fellowship was made in and through Jesus Christ, and its Life is in His Spirit. We believe that it is God's purpose to manifest this fellowship, as far as this world is concerned, in an outward visible and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognised officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring all its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God. This is what we mean by the Catholic Church."

This fellowship must not be sectional or insular; it must be catholic. It is a strange irony that "catholic" should, in some circles, have come to

denote rigidity, rigorism and exclusiveness. True, the Church, like its Founder, must make big demands on its members. But it should be large in its vision, and it must welcome people of all sorts within its borders. It is no "conservation of religious virtuosity"; it is the school of prayer, the home of the lonely, the family of God. Dr. Figgis has given us a noble conception of Catholicity:

"The Church is catholic, because she is tied to no one temperament, to no peculiar culture. There the mystic finds the food of his soul, and withal the control of dangerous dreams: there the institutionalist finds form and order and the hallowing of all outward means; there, too, the intellectual temper finds an exhaustless store of ideas, without any surrender to mere Rationalism. There even the mere moralist can find his principles given their true ground, and the legalist exercise his powers without losing fervour. There the enthusiast finds fire, but also light to guide. There the man of no more but even less than normal religious interests finds what enables him to do his best, and consoles him in grief, not condemning him because he cannot, like some, make of religion his hobby. There can be found those whose conversion is catastrophic, alongside of others God-fearing and simple, who do not know the meaning of the term. Our Catholic society is so called, not because she is English, or Latin, or Eastern, but because she has a place for all, excluding none save by his own choice. The central fact in the spiritual experience of the race, she is universal in her appeal; though she cannot be so in numbers so long as man is free. The least that she means is human fellowship, is the love of God through Christ and those who hold to

none of these will desire no place in her roll of citizens."

Now such a Christian society must touch every side of life. All truth and beauty, as well as all goodness, belong to the God who is revealed in Jesus Christ. The Son of God took upon Him our complete humanity. Nothing human is alien to Him except sin—and sin is but an intruder into our human nature. He came that we might have life and might have it abundantly. The life of the intellect is His concern: the fullest development of knowledge cannot be hostile to Him who is the Truth, and who never contradicts Himself. The life of the affections is the most intimate care of Him who taught us that love is never wasted or lost—because God is Love. All beauty of sight or sound—all that is interpreted to us by the artist and the musician—should lift up our hearts to Him who is eternal Beauty. As for the ordinary labour and business which occupy men day by day, the work by which men are fed and clothed and housed, we are coming to see that the deadly mistake of regarding such things as secular—the heresy which says that "business is business" and that religion must have nothing to say about the moral basis of economics—is the root of half our troubles. Business is part of human life and therefore our Lord cares about it, and makes His claim upon it.

There is still room for the right kind of puritanism which insists on the need for self-discipline and emphasises the danger of pursuing the attractions of this visible world without any thought of the God who made it. But there is a narrow puritanism which seems to deny the fulness of our Lord's humanity. The trouble is that so many of us are

one-sided. The humanist—even if he escapes the fatal error of regarding self-culture as an end in itself—is often lacking in spiritual intensity: and the man whose heart is afire with personal devotion to God is sometimes strangely afraid of the manifestations of God's Truth and Beauty. The knowledge of God is the keystone of the arch of life: but there are other stones which come from the divine quarry, and have their rightful place in the structure. Only a true Catholic Church can save us from a partial and one-sided religion which can never possess the master-key of life.

We need both spiritual intensity and width of vision. We need also both reverence for tradition, and a readiness to welcome any new light: "the Church is the Church of the future because she is the Church of the past: she is rather a living spirit than a dead tradition."

There are elements in Christian faith and practice which are permanent and unchanging. Either it is true that Jesus Christ is as divine as the Father, or it is not true: either He rose from the dead, or He did not rise. If these beliefs are true they are true for all time. But it is obvious that modern knowledge and scholarship are making great changes in the general outlook: it is the business of the Church to assimilate these changes, to sift them, and to utilize whatever is of real value. If some of the critics are led to a denial of what Christendom has always held to be true, their criticism must be met by better criticism, their scholarship by sounder scholarship. Mere appeals to "authority" are unsatisfying. The authority of the Church is not force: it is simply the power of accumulated experience, for religion includes a great deal which

is not purely intellectual; the Christian Society can be trusted to get rid of alien elements, just as a healthy body expels the poisonous microbes which are constantly entering into its system.

The use of the Sacraments is another example of loyalty to the old paths, combined with a welcome of the new light which comes from modern ways of thinking. I suppose that most Christians hold to the Sacraments because their experience reinforces what they believe to be a divine command. But they are glad to learn from the best modern philosophy that the whole man is one—body, soul, and spirit—and that the whole of God's creation is one; so that there is no room for a dualism which places the material and spiritual in separate planes of being. God's method, so far as we can perceive it, is sacramental.

The shallowness of the one-sided modernist and the futilities of the hidebound traditionalist are equally useless to the Church of the future. We cannot break loose from our past; but loyalty requires rather that we should seek for the permanent principles of Christian faith and practice than that we should perpetually be groping for exact ancient precedents. We look backward only that we may look forward and upward.

The next condition of "renaissance in religion" is obvious. Christianity can never win the world until the Catholic Church is one in visible fellowship, as it is already in the mind of God. This is a subject which needs a chapter to itself. For the present we may have to be content with mutual understanding and sympathy and frank cooperation in moral and social endeavour; but I am sanguine enough to hope that some of us may live to see a real reunion

of Christendom in one visible fellowship, and I believe that the Lambeth Appeal shows the right way of advance.

It is certain that we have a long way to go before these conditions—so obvious to all thoughtful Christians—are fulfilled. If this restatement of old principles in any way helps to clear thinking, the purpose of this chapter will be fulfilled For clear thinking is the second thing needed: the first is Christian love, and that can only come from the Spirit of God to Whose inspiration and rekindling power we look for that enlightenment and renewal of Christian life which are the one hope of the world.

REALITIES OF TO-DAY

" The unfailing marks of the living Fellowship of Souls are Life, Love and Labour."

Two men looking at the same tree come to totally different conclusions as to its condition. The pessimist beholds the bare branches and the torn stem from which the sap is slowly exuding, he sees a tree in the last stage of decay, ready for the axe or the strong wind to lay it low. The other man looks and observes as an optimist that the life of the tree still exists, that with the coming of Spring its gnarled limbs will be reclothed with foliage, and that it will bear fruit for the food of the people.

Observers of the condition of religion in England come to totally different conclusions from an examination of the same facts. To the rationalist the Churches are no longer shrines, but sepulchres. The life has gone. He sees them as William Watson has depicted :

> Outwardly splendid as of old,
> Inwardly sparkless, void and cold,
> Her force and fire all spent and gone,
> Like the dead moon, she still shines on.

The annual reports of the denominations are to the pessimist conclusive evidence that the Churches are no longer vital organisms but vested interests. The strongest Church in the country, with its multiplicity of services and the democratising of part of its machinery of government, may seem to the superficial

observer to possess a new lease of life ; but the reports are very depressing. The number of candidates for ordination is stated to have decreased from 640 in 1911 to 158 in 1921. The number of new churches built in 1911 was 43 ; in 1918 there was only one, and in 1919 no new church was erected. The decrease in the number of persons presenting themselves for confirmation in England and Wales was over 20,000 last year.

These returns are typical, and justify the opinion of Dr. Strong : " Our churches are growing, our missionary operations are extending, our benefactions swielling, and we congratulate ourselves upon our progress, but we have only to continue making the same kind of progress long enough and our destruction is sure." A careful observer declares that the movement away from the Churches is so steady and continuous that it is " the passing of a whole civilisation away from the faith in which it was founded, and out of which it has been fashioned." It would be an easy task to multiply testimony from the pessimists, but do they take into consideration all the facts ? It is true that the sky is very overcast, but are there no rays of light in the black clouds ? Among the causes contributing to the decadence of organised religion, are there not important factors which are passing, and others which may yet show to the advantage rather than the disadvantage of religion ?

The optimist sees all that the pessimist has observed. He beholds something in addition. It is that something which makes him a prophet. There are signs in the life of the day which indicate, as never before, the widespread interest in spiritual realities. Christianity is no longer an affair of the Churches. In many directions it has even ceased to be ecclesiastical. It

has taken on a new garb, and is producing a new type of saint. It has found fresh voices, and its message is awakening a new crusade. There is a greater reverence for reality than ever before. Mr. Bernard Shaw and a little group of ruthless iconoclasts have compelled us to see life as it is. It can no longer be pleaded that half the world does not know how the other half lives. The language of theology is confined to the initiated, it has ceased to be the exclusive speech of religion, and has become the technique of a profession.

Christianity has mingled with the thought of the age, and is influencing all its movements. It has become humanised, and is expressing itself in care for the children, schemes of social betterment and striving for the world's peace. This new type, virile and strong, has its apostles in unsuspected quarters. It may be the salvation of the Churches.

May it be affirmed that there are already visible upon the horizon signs of Renaissance—times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord? The indication of rain may not be as big as a man's hand, but is it there? Those who listen with their ear to the earth catch the sound of far distant vibrations which are unheard by those who stand erect. Theologians often make the wish father to the thought. They are not the best judges of the Church's condition. To some extent they play the double part of patient and physician. Those who are engaged in the conflict are seldom able to see how it is going. Without denying any one of the dismal facts which are upon the surface of religious conditions to-day, there may be seen sure signs of a new birth of faith which may yet crown the Man of Galilee King of Kings and Lord of Lords of our manifold life.

Revival has sometimes been on its way stepping with silent feet swiftly through the darkness, when observers from their watch-tower saw no sign of movement. A prelude to revival has usually been the decadence of morals and religion. John Richard Green gives two striking illustrations—one in connection with the Renaissance at the end of the 11th Century. The Church was terribly cold; the clergy a feeble folk until the fire suddenly blazed and everything was changed. Mr. Green says: "The revival left its stamp on the fabric of the constitution itself The paralysis of the Church ceased as the new impulse bound the prelacy and the people together, and its action when at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. it started into a power strong enough to save England from anarchy has been felt in our history ever since." The moral revolution was backed by a religious revival which penetrated even the remoter parts of the country.

Mr. Green says of the period in which the Methodist movement began: "There was no doubt a revolt against religion and against churches in both extremes of English society. In the higher circles 'everyone laughs,' said Montesquieu on his visit to England, 'if one talks of religion.' Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives." That revival changed in a few years the whole temper of English society. The Church was restored to life and activity. "Religion carried to the hearts of the poor a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education."

How hopeless anything like a Renaissance of religion must have appeared on the very eve of the greatest movement of modern times! It was then that London gin shops invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny or dead-drunk for two pence. The criminal class gathered boldness in numbers in the face of ruthless laws which only testified to the terror of society—laws which made it a capital crime to cut down a cherry tree and which strung up twenty young thieves of a morning in front of Newgate. Social purity was at a low ebb, and yet in this darkness the fire was being lit that cleansed England.

It may be that the new evangelist who speaks the language of his time may see again the springtime of the Spirit. All the elements are here out of which Renaissance comes. Each personality beholds the scene from his own angle of vision, and does not gaze upon quite the same landscape as another. There is something to be allowed for the angle of vision, and yet when the fullest justice has been done to this consideration, there are the facts.

The soul has its seasons. There are autumn, winter, spring and summer in the life of the Spirit. Are the warm rays of the spring bringing to manifest life the latent powers that have slept so long? There are ages entirely materialistic in the sense of being filled by the pursuit of material ends, mechanical progress, scientific investigation—ages in which the mechanic is supreme, and life seems satisfied by the toil that makes the world more comfortable and increases the bread for the hungry. Human intelligence is exhausted along the physical plane. There seems to be no time for the things of the Spirit. The masters of the mystic way are silent. The vision is dulled,

and the Spirit in man only responds to the sound of the wheels and the desire for things.

There is no doubt that we have passed through a period which in intelligence seemed to spend itself to the utmost upon the material, and that in its worst form. Such a tribulation as the great War could hardly have been without resulting in an exhaustion of spirit. History has some analogies that may help us. There is a dispensational element in this. Movements go through a cycle and wear themselves out. There are chapters in the Book of Life. It would seem that a cycle is now completing, a dispensation ending, a new chapter about to begin. We may be at the door of an era which shall be even greater than a Renaissance. The division between the material and the spiritual has become so thin that who can tell whether the human intelligence or the Divine Spirit may not break through, so that a new revelation would result, and the spiritual life receive a quickening not unlike that which marked the Incarnation, when an inflow of Divine power came into the world, and God was manifest in the flesh. There are already many voices bearing testimony to strange movements and phenomena which cannot be entirely gainsaid. Those who with the present writer have no faith in mediums and no interest in photographing spirits that are not present, are yet convinced that there is a mighty movement of the spiritual which may take almost any form.

There are those who look for the coming of the Christ, though they have no information as to the time of His appearing or even the form in which He will return. In the early Church this was the glorious hope in which the disciples lived and did their work, the bare record of which is still a romance.

Where Renaissance must Begin

As the lull before the storm, the unnatural calm before the great event, so it seems in the realm of the Spirit. Some temperaments sense change in the weather by their feelings. There are others so psychic that they seem to have a premonition which beholds events before they happen. And now, as never before, among those who are most intimately concerned with the deeper things of life, there is an almost inarticulate realisation of the nearness of the manifestation of the invisible King.

There is an enormously quickened quest of spiritual knowledge. In recent years Christian Science has gathered congregations in England and America with a rapidity almost without parallel. Spiritualism, notwithstanding its great handicaps, has progressed by leaps and bounds, and theosophy and the study of the occult show that the heart of the modern man is still hungry for God. The advertisements in society papers of clairvoyants, crystal gazers and the rest of the camp followers who exploit the depths of human sorrow, indicate at least the interest still possessed by occult subjects. These movements provide the raw material for the Renaissance of Religion.

There is an awakened conscience in the Churches. The comfortable feeling that God was in His Heaven and all was right with the world, has given place to something of a Divine discontent. There is an impatience with artificiality, and the ancient expression of faith which has long since ceased to be any true index of the modern man's belief. There is a feeling after God as in the days of St. Paul. And surely those who seek God have found Him.

There is a distrust of denominationalism. Sectarianism in religion has lost its power. There is a feeling after unity. The frontiers of the Churches are easily

crossed without the aid of passports. The Renaissance will not be the substitution of one Church for another. All the Churches make the Church. It will not be the supplanting of one theology by another set of theological propositions. As nationalism in government must give place to a world state, so sectionalism in religion must merge into the greater communion. Denominationalism is the ism added by the denomination. The denominations at least in this country are so recent that they can be traced in their historic significance. Each has something to contribute, but he would be a bold man who predicted that the whole would survive. There is nothing unreasonable in the insistence upon a Church system which shall be sufficiently simple to approximate to the ideal of the Founder of the Church. Unity is the key of His teaching. Unity of man with God and man with his fellow. There is a common norm in all the Churches. The rest is local and temporal.

The increasing union of the Churches in practical movements shows how much closer they have approximated to each other. But for their vested interests and ancient prejudices there are few reasons why they should not enter into a much larger union.

It is the weakness of ecclesiastics to view their systems as ultimate and final expressions of the Divine purpose. If it were not tragic it would be humorous to note how many sincere writers fail to surmount their fondness for the ultimate. They do not see that the Divine society founded by Our Lord, Jesus Christ, is a totally different thing from the Church as a religious organisation. One may agree with Bishop Gore that the Church means the people of God—the society which has Christ for its head and

is indwelt by His Spirit, and equipped by the Spirit's gifts."

The fellowship of souls in Christ is the living organism. It exists only as it is in Him! Its unfailing marks are life, love, and labour. Life in Christ, love for Christ and the Brotherhood, and service for all who suffer. This living fellowship can be differentiated from the agencies and rituals and creedal expressions through which it has manifested itself in different periods. It would seem that Christ gave the new life and left its adaptation to its environment unexpressed, so that the Church as the work of man, subject to decay and death, is clearly traceable upon the pages of history. But that is not the Bride of Christ, not the Fellowship of those who were made partakers of the Divine nature.

One is always distrustful of ultimate and final expressions of faith whether in creeds or in theology. It may be that in the Renaissance these thought forms will have no use. They belong to the things temporal, and give place in the succession that leads to things eternal.

There are four great illustrations enshrined in the immortal association of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Rome and Geneva. In these one may watch the birth of a Church as an organisation. At Jerusalem it was of the simplest possible order, in the most flexible form—the delegation of duties from one to another. It was so vague and varied that sincere students appeal to the same records for their authority. The early disciples could not entirely break away from their Jewish exclusiveness. They did not readily recognise Christianity as the world religion. They could not have thought their rudimentary Church organisation was fashioned for all ages.

The holy orthodox Church stood for authority in formulating the faith, and providing a standard of conduct. It was a great and glorious task, and perhaps vitally necessary for the time ; but it does not seem possible for any Church to utter the last word—the final pronouncement upon any subject. How could it ? The truth is unchangeable and eternal, but man knows it through a medium—his intelligence, which is very fallible. He sees as in a glass darkly, and with the passing of the years he beholds with greater clearness a vision : the only authority is that of the Spirit of God recognised through human experience and testified to by the followers of Christ in their lives. The intellectual barriers go down as the secular arm is withdrawn from enforcing the decrees, and knowledge advances. Creedal religion can never again occupy the position it has held in the past.

Rome has stood for ideals far greater than Protestantism quite understands. Her vision of priesthood, sacraments, unity and holiness have impressed the mind of the world far more deeply than we realise. Rome's services to humanity are beyond price. In an age of darkness she kept the lamp of knowledge burning. It might easily have been quenched but for her efforts. In her monasteries she preserved the community life which was the salt of civilisation. She fostered art and music, and kept at least some conception before men of the festive side of religion. And yet it does not seem that in the Renaissance there will be a new catholicism. Indeed, one would rather have the old than the caricature which masquerades as the original thing.

Protestanism was the charter of soul liberty, the assertion of the immediacy of God, and man's right

to commune with the Eternal Father without priest or Church between ; the exaltation of the Saviour above sacraments and the open way to the Cross, so that in very truth the just live by faith. These were gifts that form a priceless inheritance. But Protestantism suffered from the defects of its strength. Its right of private judgment necessarily divided authority, and made dogmatic religion impossible.

Is there to be another and a truer city of God ? Are we to conserve the best in the teaching of each, and merge them in a greater vision ? Or will they all pass away ? The choice will not be between this or that, but this and that ; not exclusiveness but comprehension. The great faiths of India and China are not without their truths which will be merged in the larger faith. A world religion must make its appeal to the universal elements in man. Sectional religions have passed or are passing.

Christ must be related to the cosmic order as He was in the early days of the Christian faith. In the apostolic period the historic Jesus blends in the mind of the believer with the spiritual Christ, the Alpha and Omega, the image of God, the first-born among many brethren, the One Who made all things again, Who gave a new standard of moral values, changed the lives of men and took the sting from death, the Mediator who called men to another way of life, the Redeemer of the world.

It is difficult to get free from the thought-forms of religion, and to forget the voice-worn creeds. It does not seem that there will be a Renaissance of any of the conventional types. There may be local and passing revivals, but the great movement will take other forms if the analogies of history are to be trusted. The types we know have served their purpose and

are worn out. Can we conceive Christianity apart from existing Church forms? Perhaps not, but Christianity in many vital particulars is totallly at variance with the teaching of Jesus Christ. The Renaissance is the revival of the teaching of the Great Master. His religion was cosmic. It has been made sectarian. It was a matter of character, not a question of creed.

The earliest description of religion which served the purpose of a definition was given by St. James. "Pure religion and undefiled before God the Father is this: to visit the widow and fatherless in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world." That was the summary of the religion of Jesus Christ. It consists of three factors—the God consciousness, it is life in the presence of the Eternal Father. The awareness of God has ever been the mark of the saints. It is perhaps the one characteristic which is universal. Life takes on new meanings and values when it is lived in the consciousness of God. It is only by the elimination of the sense of the Presence that human life becomes bankrupt and sordid.

The second factor is the service of others. When the Redeemer said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbour as thyself," He made it impossible for religion to be entirely individualistic. Love has no meaning except it find expression in action. In the service of others we fulfil ourselves.

The third factor is personal purity. The religion of unspottedness was never an easy task. It is not now, but it holds the future. If this be a true summary of the religion of Jesus, if it agrees with His fellowship of soul, holding kinship with deity, and characterised

by a common life, love and labour, are we justified in speaking of its Renaissance? Are the great movements of our time coloured by it?

There is a quaint little story from the life of Archbishop Fenelon. While engaged in meditation on a country road, the Archbishop saw a cow belonging to one of his neighbours who was a Huguenot. He led the animal back and, improving the occasion, said to the woman, "And where was your Church two hundred years ago?" With ready wit and keen insight she replied, "It was in all good hearts, like yours." The true Church is the church in the heart. That will find expression in the religious life.

To-day as never before, there seems a God-consciousness in the world. It takes many forms, artistic and philosophic, crude and bewildering; but it is the same. The latter half of the Victorian period was devoted to the problem of the existence of God. If anything is assured now it is the spiritual interpretation of the universe. Our problem is not concerning the existence of God, but how to make contact with Him. The avenues of approach seem silted up. The new Reformation must clear the way for the children to approach the Father. We are so accustomed to Church institutions and clergy that we hardly think of the possibility of a revival of Christianity without these.

The passion for social righteousness which characterises our times, is an evidence of the revival of the teaching of Jesus. Each Renaissance has had its special mark and note. It does not seem that these have been quite the same in any two instances. The new birth will be upon a higher plane. Whatever may be the decadence of the moment in social ideals and politics, it can hardly be questioned that the

yearning for corporate righteousness is far deeper than in any previous time known to us. The extremes represented by the leaders of the advance section of the labour movement are but the exaggeration and over-emphasis of the things we all seek. We are giving a practical interpretation to the injunction, "Seek first the Kingdom of God and its righteousness." If the Kingdom of God means the rule of God in the hearts of men, that is our quest.

The Renaissance of the Church in any of its forms does not appear likely unless it manifests the spirit of adaptation. Only as organised goodness does it seem possible for religious institutions to return to the Spirit of the Founder of the religion they exist to perpetuate. The whole trend of thought is in the direction of simplification and unity. There can be no revelation that is not self-evident. Religion as a set of intellectual propositions is obviously a matter of argument, but not of revelation. Christ's way of life which is the real Christianity, is recognisable as music and beauty. We have made truth a puzzle where it was a revelation.

The religion mankind needs is not a matter of knowledge but of life. It may be argued that there can be no life worth living that has not its springs in knowledge. But the knowledge of God is not knowledge in the ordinary sense. It is experience born of communion. It may be possessed by those who have never heard of priests and churches. As a matter of fact it has been so possessed. All through the ages there have been little companies of those who have companioned with the Christ. They have lit their own fires of devotion and cultivated their own flowers in the garden of the Spirit. To-day in Central Europe communities have sprung up naming Christ as Master

and seeking to live His new way of life without any connection with organised religion.

It is a matter of supreme interest how these fellowships of the Spirit will develop and what new forms of organisation they will work out. The flood tide of spirituality brings men together, and carried them far beyond the boundaries of what seems possible. If in the new day the Renaissance asserts itself along the lines here suggested, it will create the Kingdom of God upon the earth. But in whatever form that new order of life may come, the lovers of Jesus will bid it welcome.

THE PROBLEM OF UNITY

" Set before us the ideal of absolute unity, not of mere co-operation, not even of closely woven federation "

He that sitteth on the throne said, " Behold, I make all things new." There, in simple words, is the expression, not only of the Divine purpose, but of the Divine method of Renaissance. God is continuously at work, and, at least in the higher realms of life, He is not making new things, He is making things new. *Re*generation, *re*storation, *re*creation, *re*newal—these are some of the key-words of the method. It is often easier to cast aside that which is worn and broken and ineffective than it is to make things wholly new. But we human fellow workers with God need to learn the lesson of His method, especially in these difficult days and at this crisis of the world's history. On every hand the cry goes up for a new England, and a new world, and sometimes we imagine it is all a matter of government and administration and economics, and we forget that by the way of character and of the spirit of service and of brotherhood, lies the road to the new world we seek.

This is true of every department of human life ; it is clearly true of religion. But our faith is not a department of life, it enters every department ; indeed, our faith is our life or it is not our faith. Part of the world problem in front of us is the problem

of broken unity in the family of mankind, view that family as you will—from the point of view of the nations, the nation, the class, or the individual home. We should be denying our religion if we did not believe that a universal faith, and that the faith of the Gospel of Christ, is the best guarantee, and the necessary precursor, of a universal brotherhood. Hence our business to enshrine that universal faith in a universal Church.

Subsidiary to this great consideration there is the minor, but not unimportant one, that a broken and disunited Church cannot preach with any cogency to a broken and disunited world. Hence the paramount importance of the problem of Church unity; hence the duty of doing all we can within the limit of truth and principle to realise in practical fact the ideal we are beginning to see is essential to the recreation of the world.

Naturally and of necessity we look first at our own homeland. The situation is patent and heart-breaking. Disciples of Christ are gathered together in separate communions differing more or less in faith and practice from each other, separate in organisation and life and fellowship, and separate, too, from great communions of Christians in other lands. How can we find the road to unity and fellowship?

The present position will never be wholly grasped unless, at least cursorily, we turn back to study the history of its creation. Once the Church in this land was one, but its unity was maintained, often by force, and always by the repression of much which should make for the welfare both of the community, the individual and the institution. The Reformation broke that unity, but it did not alter the policy of the country in matters of religion. The

Reformation was a necessity. It came because not otherwise could we have won and enjoyed the freedom with which Christ has made us free. As the great movement passed it left us separate from the great Church of Western Christendom, whose influence was spread over the whole of Europe and whose centre was in Rome. It made possible further breaches of unity, and Independence came into being. Men saw that unity was still essential to our welfare, perhaps only on the lower ground of political expediency, and the policy of suppression by the dominant Christian communion of all forms of the same faith which seemed to be its rivals came into being. It is to be noted that the policy was universal. In the reign of Elizabeth Rome was suppressed; in the reign of Mary it attempted to suppress; in Jacobean and Caroline days Independency had to fight or hide; in the days of the Commonwealth the position was reversed. Unity by force is always impossible, and it proved so. One great step toward better things was taken when suppression gave place to toleration. The history of toleration is a long one, not a very happy one, and comes down to our own time. For a long while it was a very ungenerous toleration. It engendered bitterness and stereotyped rivalry, but it was the studied policy of the Anglican Church, and the most generous and large-minded members of our communion could find no grander ideal than that of large-minded and generous toleration.

In the latter half of the 19th century men began to see farther. Toleration of a multitude of communities did not make for strength in the aggressive life of the whole Church, and was clearly a poor makeshift for that vision of the Church which

Christ willed and for which he prayed. What was the next step to be ? Co-operation where co-operation was possible. But there were so many hindrances of faith and order and practice that co-operation was always being hindered, and most hindered where most needed. At the Lambeth Conference of 1888 another step was taken, a new policy was adopted, consciously or unconsciously, a policy which had been for a while in the mind of the Church, again perhaps consciously, perhaps unconsciously. Certain terms of communion were laid down. The obvious inference was that upon those terms co-operation could be largely extended, and indeed the Christian communions that had not hitherto conformed to the Anglican Church might be received into communion. It was a great step for a Church with all the traditions of Anglicanism to take, and it would be ungenerous not to recognise the fact. Our Nonconformist friends did not fail to appreciate it, but they began to see that it was an effort at unity by submission, or at any rate by absorption in the mother Church of the land. Such submission they found difficult such absorption had elements of distaste about it. Every day the problem was becoming more urgent. every year we were compelled to feel more and more the wastage and the loss in which it involved the Church of Christ, the instrument in His hands for bringing the Kingdom of God into the world. In the days before the war Churchmen of all schools of thought, Free Churchmen of all denominations, were beginning to think and pray about projects and prospects of unity. Little groups of leading men got together on both sides, sometimes both sides in common conference, and a good deal of seed was sown which grew and blossomed amid the horrors of the war.

The war taught the lesson and the value of unity in language that the dullest could understand, and when the war was over it became clear that something must be done. With the war behind it and the appalling problems of the future before it, the Lambeth Conference of bishops, 252 of them from all parts of the world, met at Lambeth in July 1920. We went to Lambeth with fears and forebodings; we came away with gratitude and high hope. Most of us believed that the Lambeth Conference of 1920 meant the creation of an entirely new situation, and although there are many difficulties and perplexities before us, we believe it still, We issued no terms of submission, we planned no project of absorption, we were content to make an Appeal.

None who served upon the Conference Committee concerning unity, no one who lived through that great day on which the Appeal was accepted by the Conference will ever forget the solemnity of the wonderful occasion. The Appeal is for all the world to read and there is no need to reproduce it here. It is worth while lingering over some of its contentions.

It was an Appeal to all Christian people and quite frankly started with the acknowledgment that all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and have been baptised into the name of the Holy Trinity share with us membership in the universal Church of Christ which is His body. Then followed an expression of our faith—we believe that God wills fellowship. Then came an act of penitence and confession. Disunion is a sin, acquiescence in it is disloyalty to Christ, it cripples His Body and hinders the activity of His Spirit. The Appeal then tries to paint the picture of a reunited Church in which every group of Christians shall find its place and to which each

group shall make its contribution, so that through a rich diversity of life and devotion the unity of the whole fellowship will be fulfilled. Towards the fulfilment of that ideal we ventured to call for the help of all our Christian brethren everywhere.

The Appeal goes farther than this. We tried to discover what the visible unity of the Church must involve. We had before us the old Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888, but we did not restate it in its old form. What we wanted now was not a set of conditions for submission or absorption, but the enunciation of those essential things which alone could make unity real. Clearly a reunited Church must have a common faith in fundamental things. If our fundamental faith be different there is no real unity.

Then, we could not realise the fulfilment of our ideal unless the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion expressed for us our fellowship in and with Christ in corporate life.

Finally, we felt that there must be a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church, not a ministry imposed by one branch upon another, but a ministry of such fulness as to satisfy each part We then ventured to suggest that in the reunited Church the Episcopate is the one means of providing such a ministry. It has the long tradition of history behind it. With all its faults it has present experience to justify it. We were careful to acknowledge the spiritual reality of the ministries of those communions which do not possess the Episcopate, and a comparison of the words used with those used at former Lambeth conferences will reveal the real advance made by that acknowledgment. We expressed the view that the Episcopal office should be exercised everywhere in a representative and con-

stitutional manner, but having in view the great Episcopal Churches of the East and the West as well as our own, we asked our non-episcopal brethren whether we could not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing such a universal ministry.

We went a step farther, and as the sincerity of that step has once or twice been called in question it is worth insisting that it was made with open eyes and honest hearts. We expressed ourselves as willing to accept from our brethren of other communions such form of commission or recognition as would commend our ministry to their congregations in return for their accepting from us a form of commission or recognition which would commend their ministry to ourselves.

Thus Lambeth and its vision. What must come next? The fulfilment of the vision means a completely reunited Church. It involves not only home reunion as we have learnt to think of it, but union with the great Churches of the East and the West. For the moment Rome stands aloof, and we are all clear that it can only be a reformed Rome which must make its contribution to the life of the Church that has yet to be. We must not despair of Rome, or we limit the power of the Spirit of God. With the Churches of the East the prospect is happier. We are learning to know and understand one another, and in the process are drawing closer together, Sooner than we think, rapprochement may lead to unity.

In parts of the mission field fulfilment of the Lambeth vision grows nearer and nearer, and to meet the situation of some of the overseas Churches Lambeth had to answer questions of greater detail.

But what of the homeland and of the tasks and possibilities that shall one day translate the vision into practical fact? First, there is need of education. The Bishops at Lambeth tried to speak plainly and they tried to lead. In some quarters at least their plainness of speech has been misunderstood, and their leadership parleyed with or declined. It is for all whose minds are turned towards unity as far as in them lies to influence the minds of others. The details that make for unity are for the moment, and for every moment, of less importance than the spirit of unity. It is worth while that we should study the details, for they are not static and can be varied to meet changing circumstances. We should have gone a long way if we could all be agreed that the ideal to be set before us is the ideal of absolute unity, not of mere co-operation, not even of closely woven federation. We shall have gone a long way if we realise that communions are not asked to give up the tradition that they hold dear, but to add their contribution of treasure to the common stock of the whole Church. And to us Anglicans every community of Christians now separated from us has a contribution of helpfulness which it can usefully make, and we believe that we have a contribution too. For the moment education is one of the gravest needs. We must be willing to learn from each other's lips, to take endless pains to understand one another's positions. To that end gatherings large and small must take place everywhere. Gatherings which will be content not to pass pious resolutions but to study and listen and learn each from the other, and it is good to know that such gatherings are coming into being the world through.

Then we must all co-operate. Complete co-

operation there cannot usefully be until the final unity comes. Differences that are for the moment differences of principle prevent. But the more we learn of each other, the closer the co-operation, and by co-operation we can learn. The Lambeth Fathers advised, and the Convocations have endorsed the advice, though not without differences of opinion, in the difficult matter of interchange of pulpits. Promiscuous interchange of pulpits might all too easily be regarded as an end in itself and its achievement as a settlement of the whole problem. Hence the need of caution. If on the other hand, in view of the prospects and projects of reunion men were working towards an ideal of union such as is described in the Appeal, and never addressed each other's congregations of the faithful, we should be needlessly putting a stumbling-block in the way of that education which we believe to be a necessary prerequisite of unity. The problem is no easy one and if, as some think, and I have great sympathy with their thinking, we have erred a little on the side of caution, it is to be remembered that overhaste in a matter of this kind may stir up prejudices and hurt susceptibilities to the real hindrance of the purpose in view. There are many opportunities of co-operation nowadays, not only in the realm of the moral and social but happily in that most intimate realm of all, the spiritual.

Inter-communion is an even more difficult problem still. Ideally, inter-communion ought to mean unity. Sometimes that unity is already so very real that some measure of inter-communion becomes natural, but again it would be fatal if arrangements became the seed plot for strife, or inter-communion itself became a substitute for unity. We must be content

to move slowly but we must not be content not to move.

Finally and chiefest of all, we must cultivate the spirit of brotherhood, of fellowship, of unity. The old quarrels must be buried, the old bitterness cast aside; trifling things that have been allowed to divide and hurt must be put into their right place and be made powerless for mischief. To stir up strife is unchristian and unworthy of the Catholic Church. A new spirit in controversy in the long run will remove the ground for controversy itself.

We must not forget that the broken unity of the centuries is not to be mended in a moment. To accomplish that mending in a generation would be miraculously speedy, to make our contribution to it in a generation is the task in this particular to which God has called us.

THE GREAT NEED

" What the world really needs is a new spirit and a new heart. The saving salt of life is idealism and brotherhood."

As I think of the new impulse towards Christian unity, my mind reverts to some deeply impressive words of General Smuts on the great world situation. His words demand and receive profound respect from wise men everywhere. " There is no doubt that mankind is once more on the move. The very foundations have been shaken and loosened, and things are again fluid. The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march. Vast social and industrial changes are coming, perhaps upheavals which may, in their magnitude and effects, be comparable to war itself."

That there is a rebirth of the hopes and struggles for unity, is evident in every part of the Christian world. A long, and sometimes a painful, story lies behind the present discussions and proposals. Many brilliant dreams have been dissolved, many hearts have been broken, many promising programmes have been discredited in the course of history. The Tudor conception of unity as uniformity, the ideal of Elizabeth and her ministers of " one State, one Church " however well-intentioned has taken its place among hopeless paths and quite impossible things. John Drury's travels in " the work of peace " through 50 years ; the labours of Usher and Tillot-

son ; the Hampton Court Conference and the Savoy Conference ; the discussions at Grindelwald ; the Commissions on Faith and Order ; they have all had their part and made their contribution. They have dispelled illusions or led up to dead walls, or cleared the issue or softened asperities.

It is a fine thing that every daybreak the world begins again and that in spite of all failures and disappointments, by a daily miracle, we take heart again to face the old problems. So it comes to pass that, wherever we look, we find the churches seeking to end long separations and divisions. A united Methodism at home, a federal union of all the Evangelical Free Churches of England, proposals for one Presbyterian church across the Border, Episcopalians in conference with Presbyterians in Canada and Australia, surprising developments on the Mission field in South India, China and Africa, these are among the examples, too numerous to detail, of the renaissance of unity. The great outstanding instance, however, is the Lambeth Appeal. It is a remarkable advance on the Lambeth Quadrilateral. It has created a new situation. The terms in which the Appeal is couched, the unanimity of the findings, and the spirit which breathes through the document, make it evident that the members of the Conference were borne along "by a power greater than themselves." Only a religious churl or bigot would carp at such an Appeal. Recall for a moment some of the contents. "The times call for a new outlook and new measures." "Our Appeal is in idea and in method a new Appeal." "All those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and have been baptised into the name of the Holy Trinity are sharing with us membership in the universal Church of Christ which is His Body."

Again as to broken fellowship, "we desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Body of Christ and hindering the activity of His Spirit." And again, "It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of those Communions which do not possess the Episcopate" . . . "In so doing no one of us could possibly be taken to repudiate his past ministry." It is wonderful that 252 bishops from every part of the world, of every type of thought within the Anglican Church could have broken free from familiar solutions and spread out such a vision before the Christian world. It is indeed a new beginning. It was a work of God. It was not human, but divine.

What has been the outcome of the Lambeth Appeal? The non-episcopal Churches in their annual assemblies have faced the question of reunion more seriously than ever before. The Archbishop of Canterbury at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Bishop of Peterborough at that of the United Free Church of Scotland, the Archbishop of York at the Unions and Conferences of the Free Churches of England, have left a lasting impression of sincerity, eagerness and Christian goodwill. The Federal Council of the Free Churches is acting as the instrument of further elucidation and conference. But apart from these semi-official contributions, everyone is aware of a change in the relations between Anglicans and Nonconformists. They are more friendly and Christian. The new leaven is at work in every town and village. Yet while this is true it must be confessed that there is ground for anxiety. Unity is a tender shoot just lifting its head timidly above the wintry earth, and it may easily be blasted or trampled down. The two reports of the English

Church Union and the resignation of the Bishop of Zanzibar from the Lambeth Conference show that the Archbishops are sailing past shoals and sunken rocks. Among the Free Churches the first glow of warmth has been succeeded by a certain chilliness. The mists of vagueness have cleared a little and the grim outlines ot tremendous difficulties have become more visible. Some who were quite keen on unity when it was in the air have taken fright now that responsible people like bishops have set it down in black and white and in precise terms. There has been a revival of battle-cries and "old tags" especially among those who have not shaken free from the bitter controversies of the last generation. Clearly there is still a wilderness to be travelled and it may be a new generation which enters into the Promised Land.

Cautiousness has its uses, and it is a very marked quality in all ecclesiastical things, but in a reformation, courage is a much more precious element In a great conflict you need a Cromwell much more than an Essex. This movement towards reunion will not be carried to victory without great boldness on the part of some of its leaders. They must risk something and the least price they must pay will be misunderstanding. This is a great adventure. New situations have to be discerned, new values to be estimated, Realities must take the place of words which have ceased to mean anything vital. But boldness is the first essential. Think of the magnificent audacity of Martin Luther, or of the men who led the English Reformation. Or think of the dauntless and unshakeable courage of Abraham Lincoln. It is simply amazing that he could stand towering above the crowd of the half-hearted and

the waverers, and by his fixed resolve shed blood and treasure until the Union was saved. Reunion is a new Reformation, and it requires leaders who tread in new ways, see new visions and think things which, in the past, men have declared to be unthinkable.

In the advocacy of reunion there must be a process of education. All the Churches have to reckon with the unconvinced. Perhaps in the Church of England these are more numerous among the clergy, but in the Free Churches among the laity. For the most part all the denominations pay only lip service to the 17th chapter of St. John; they are content to remain in separation, and individual congregations have no stirrings of conscience. The contrast between the complacency of the average Churchman or Freechurchman as to existing divisions and the almost unmeasured words of Christian leaders is very striking. Thus Dr. V. T. Manning, of New York, has written that "Christian unity is the greatest and the most far-reaching of all present day problems, national and international, social, political and economic." More than a hundred years ago the great Baptist preacher Robert Hall wrote that the evils of our divisions were "incalculable" and that "nothing more abhorrent to the principles and maxims of the sacred oracles can be conceived than the idea of a plurality of true churches, neither in actual communion with each other, nor in the capacity for such communion." Is there any reality in these words?

The final court of appeal is the mind of Christ as it is revealed in the New Testament. His will is our law. When men are about to die their thoughts turn to the things that matter most. In those last

hours He occupied Himself with ministry, communion and unity. The ministry meant lowly service, the washing of the feet; the communion was a fellowship in the Gospel; four times he repeated the words "that they all may be one." We are all thinking too much of forms and offices, for Church, ministry and sacraments are vain and even pernicious unless they have the spirit which is their life. The function of the Church is so peculiar to itself that if it misses the spirit, it fails and must fail.

This is clearly a deeper problem than the squandering of energy or the wasteful distribution of resources, important as these may be, What the world needs is idealism. There are many institutions which call it to the secular and temporal. There is only one to call it to the spiritual and eternal. Civilisation makes gigantic strides to materialism, self-interest, force and faction. Then suddenly the whole structure of civilization topples over and lies in ruins, and thinkers and statesmen perceive that what the world really needs is a new spirit and a new heart. The saving salt of life is idealism and brotherhood. A church which linked all men together in a common faith and devotion to Christ, which combined and transcended all races, nations and classes, could supply a very real bond of union, but not a Church which itself is split into fragments and itself violates the principle of fellowship. A divided Church cannot maintain a dissolving moral tradition. Or if we look at the supreme task of the Church, which is obviously the Christianizing of non-Christian lands, we know that it is hopeless to advance to the attack except as a united host. At the present hour the difficulties are greater than ever before. The unrest and ferment among the coloured races

is tremendous. A powerful national consciousness is taking shape and organization. New developments and extensions and at least one vast religious revival, are arising in Mahommedanism. The "unchanging East" is actually changing and it is futile to think that we can impose our Western forms and sectarian traditions upon Asia or Africa. In the words of the Appeal "In order to accomplish its object, the Church must itself be a pattern of fellowship."

We must make it quite clear in what sense the Lambeth Appeal is new in idea and method. It begins with the reality of unity as it is in God. The one life of the one Body, the spiritual union of all believers already exists. This unity needs to be made organic, and visible. It has not to be created but expressed. It is not oneness in spirit and experience, for this already exists, but it is the expression of unity in an outward and visible form. It has to do not with individuals but with Churches as corporate bodies. The union proposed by the Appeal is organic as distinct from federal. A very complicated and intricate discussion has gathered around these terms. A federal union is one which leaves the individuality of the uniting bodies unimpaired even though they may commit certain powers to a central Council. Thus the Evangelical Free Churches of England are federated together, but their separated denominational life and governments are untouched. An organic union is the union into one body of two or more separate bodies and is irrevocable, as for example, the union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterians in the United Free Church of Scotland. These definitions are capable of subtle refinements and variations, but

the substance is clear. The Lambeth Appeal would bring about a visible and organic union, a body with diverse members, reconciling order and freedom, with a large measure of variety and elasticity, and a ministry recognised in every part ; such a Church as this age and country have never seen.

Over against this proposal is the alternative of federal union. Many Free Churchmen would be perfectly content if the movement toward unity were carried no farther than this. Indeed, it is the present relation between the Free Churches themselves, accepted because nothing more was practicable. But the powers conferred on the Federal Council are so slight that the separate streams of denominational life flow on undisturbed. The Bishop of Peterborough has thus described federal union : " This ideal is not family life, but a loose federation where each Church stands on its own basis, lives its own life, directs its own organizations with no interference and with no very necessary interest in the affairs of the others." The vision of Lambeth is something grander and worthier. Such a plan would surrender the ideal and would leave the relation between the Churches, including the Church of England, pretty much the same as it is between the Free Churches to-day of which we may safely say that it is not the oneness of which our Lord prayed " that the world may believe that Thou has sent Me." It is better for the Church of England to stand for the ideal even if it stands alone. Federation would be no solution. It could only be carried through if at all, after a bitter controversy altogether incommensurate with its supposed advantages. Nor does it answer to the spirit and teaching of the New Testament as in the Epistle to the Ephesians " there

is one body," or again, " the whole body fitly joined together and completed by that which every joint supplieth."

In gentle and tentative language the Lambeth Appeal claims that organic union can only be reached on the basis of episcopacy, and further, that it is " the best instrument for maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church." At this stage it is quite easy for controversialists to make a number of debateable points. The historical fact, however, remains, that it became the instrument of unity in the sub-apostolic church, and that out of an embryonic and rudimentary church order, taking various forms in differents parts of the Roman Empire, Episcopacy emerged towards the end of the second century as the normal form. The infant Church found in it a defence against the flood of Paganism and especially against the heresy of Gnosticism. Can anyone doubt that it was under the guidance of the Spirit ? A plain and direct issue has been reached. Are the Free Churches prepared to accept episcopacy ?

Let us try to ascertain what it involves. Let us rid our minds of prejudice, irrelevances and resentment for the past. Let us think nobly and generously in the presence of a great situation. Only by bad history can we cite our Puritan forefathers against episcopacy for they believed in it and desired to remain under it within the Church of England. There is one final, barrier where we must take our stand. We cannot sacrifice a principle of the Gospel of Christ. In this connection some recent statements are very significant. The Second Interim Report signed by a number of well-known Free Churchmen acknowledges that the position of Episcopacy " is such that the members of the Episcopal Churches

ought not to be expected to abandon it in assenting to any basis of reunion." Dr. Garvie admits that "to give the bishops the place they have hitherto held in respect to the ordination of ministers, so long as, in accordance with ancient practice, other presbyters are associated with them, would be simply to preserve the continuity in the Christian Church." The Report of the Free Church Federal Council on the Lambeth Appeal says explicitly, "We have an open mind towards episcopal order as towards any other." It is an axiom with educated Free Churchmen that our Lord prescribed no one form of polity for His Church, and that no one form of government is essential to constitute a true Church. There is, therefore, nothing in the New Testament to prevent the acceptance of episcopacy.

But what does the episcopacy of the Lambeth Appeal involve? We must remember that it is put before us as an office of proved value within the Church, not in any civil or political setting. The Bishop is regarded as a father in God within the circle of the Christian family. The Appeal uses two terms which are highly significant, "representative" and "constitutional," and these exclude monarchical and prelatical conceptions of the office. The attempt is to get back to the original form, freed from the accretions and developments of history. Dr. Headlam tells us that in the primitive and apostolic Church, the bishop was "their representative elected by their suffrage." "The bishop was intended to be, and normally, at any rate, was the man chosen by the voice of the people." Mr. C. H. Turner establishes that in the early Church, a bishop had first to be lawfully chosen by a particular community, e.g., Antioch, to occupy the vacant

cathedra of its Church. In the Episcopal Church of Ireland to-day, the Bishop is chosen by a representative body composed of clergy and laity. In reality, the bishop is the president exercising his office in a constitutional manner in full consultation with his co-presbyters. Moreover, the appeal is for the fact of episcopacy, and not for any one particular theory about it. Thus, while the Lambeth Conference does not exclude any particular theory, the Bishops have not made the mistake of demanding from the Free Churches what they are unable to get from their own people. Finally, it is a form of Government which will take up into itself all that is best in the three great historical types preserving the oversight and watchfulness for the common good and welfare of the Body which is the essence of Episcopacy, the place of the presbytery which has its function in the administration of the Church, and also, by no means least, the due rights of the local Church—which are very real. We have travelled a long way to have reached such a conception of the episcopal office. And the question for us all is whether the selfsame Spirit is leading the Church to-day, beset by no less subtle perils, into unity through the instrument of episcopacy.

When all is said and done, the acceptance of episcopacy by the Free Churches in the light of their history would be a tremendous act. Yet we do not think it is too great a price, interpreted as we have set it forth, to pay for the incalculable blessing of fellowship. We earnestly trust, however, that the discussion will not be brought to a deadlock by a demand for anything which could be mistaken for a reordination of the existing ministry of the non-episcopal Churches. A careful reading of the

Appeal reveals that the Lambeth Conference regards the Free Church Ministry as possessing the spiritual reality but as defective in form. It is high time that a second Augustine arose to maintain within the Anglican Church that the blessing of God, a true intention and the regular form of ordination of the Free Churches constitute validity. There can be no serious objection to a wider commission. Of course in a united Episcopal Church all future ordination would be by a Bishop, who might be a former Free Church Minister, but the existing ministry which has arisen under the providence of God should be allowed to work itself out. It has been well said that God has given us not only eyes but eyelids. It would be intractable not to recognise that there must be a period of transition. For the existing order let the clergy and ministers gather in the cathedrals of the land and receive consecration to the service of the United Church by the Bishop of the Diocese and a Free Church minister officially appointed to act in such a capacity.

Attention should be called to three other important issues.

1. If the relation of the Church to the Creeds is expressed in such a way as to enable us to unite around a common declaration of faith : if it is frankly recognised that the Nicene creed is conceived in the forms of Greek thought and that it was a "sufficient statement of the Christian faith" in the philosophical terms of the fourth century; if Creeds are not to be used as a disciplinary standard or to deny the living witness of the Church—then there should be no real difficulty. The evangelical Free Churches cling to the historic Jesus of the Gospels. To them our Lord Jesus Christ is "very God of

very God." That wise old high Churchman, Dr. Johnson, said that "all denominations of Christians have really little difference in point of doctrine, though they may differ widely in external form," a saying, however, prior to the Vatican Decrees. The Baptists put forward their great creed in 1689, not to exhibit fundamental disagreements but "for information," to manifest their "consent in all the fundamental articles of the Christian religion," and that their children might be catechized and instructed and their "tender years seasoned with the knowledge of the truth of God." The Te Deum, the most glorious expression of all the creeds, is sung in all the Free Churches. The Federal Council Report says truly "that Free Churchmen generally would be able to give as 'wholehearted' an acceptance to the Christian faith underlying these creeds (the Apostles and the Nicene) as do their Anglican brethren."

2. Reunion should be conceived in terms of those conditions which have come about in the course of history. Including Presbyterians, there are six great Free Churches in this country. Perhaps at no late day three Methodist Churches will unite, and the problem be still further simplified. But here are the six, with their Unions and Conferences, their headquarters, officials, vast organizations and funds, their churches and schools and charities. No one proposes that these immense mechanisms should be scrapped. Time would bring modifications and economies, but within the unity the great communions would remain, at least for a period, as religious orders in the reunited Church, retaining much that has been "distinctive in their methods of worship and service."

3. While we do not and can not ask the Church

of England to forfeit its mediating position with other episcopal Churches, it must not be a term of reunion that we repudiate or break up our fellowship with our co-religionists in other parts of the world. They number many many millions. They are not perhaps at the same stage as ourselves in the pathway to unity. They must not bind our hands or limit our liberty to follow the beckoning hand of God. But we are linked to them by the closest service, and we cannot betray them.

It is evident that the difficulties are tremendous. They are insuperable apart from the hand of God. They have not all to be faced at once. At the Mansfield College Conference, Dr. Jowett used a striking illustration which no one who heard it will ever forget. He said in effect that as we looked up to Arthur's seat in Edinburgh from Princes' Street it rose frowning, formidable, inaccessible, but if we passed a little way out of the city we came upon the beginning of a green and easy slope, grassy, gentle, which even a child might climb, and almost before we were aware we found ourselves at the summit. So let us not be daunted by heights which seem frowning and formidable and which have witnessed many a bitter struggle, but let the children of God continue to tread the gentle slope of better and more gracious relations and, ascending, come with singing into Zion.

REUNION IN AMERICA

"The way lies forward, not back. Organic union, whether between Churches or between States, will come to pass whenever the spiritual unity which already exists between the different units to be related creates organs of expression so effective and permanent that they can command the whole-hearted and unreserved allegiance of all who live under them. There is no other way."

To appreciate the significance of the present movement toward reunion among the churches of America, one must keep clearly in mind the environment in which these churches are doing their work. In three respects the situation in the United States differs from that in Great Britain. It differs in the number and relative strength of the bodies to be united, in the absence of an established religion and in the greater emphasis laid by all the churches upon practical service. These differences, for reasons presently to be explained, make organic union in the sense in which that term is commonly understood by English churchmen, seem less important than it appears to Christians of an older civilization, and have created a vast number of co-operative agencies through which the impulse to unity which is implicit in the Christian religion finds its natural opportunity of expression.

According to the last census, that of 1916, the

number of Protestant communicants in the United States was about 25,000,000, while the Roman Catholics numbered 15,721,815 and the Greek Catholics 249,840. The different basis of computation employed in the different churches renders these figures misleading. While the number of Roman Catholic communicants corresponds roughly to the total Catholic population, that of Protestants, excluding as it does children under thirteen (baptized but not entered on the church rolls) and a large number of persons not church members who are regular attendants and contributors, should probably be multiplied by three.* The Roman Catholic membership includes a very large percentage of the foreign-speaking population. On the other hand, with few exceptions, the Negroes are members of Protestant churches.

The 25,000,000 Protestant church members are divided into more than two hundred independent denominations, which in turn are grouped in seven or eight large families. Methodists and Baptists have each over 7,000,000 members, the Presbyterians 2,250,000, the Lutherans 2,460,000, the Episcopalians 1,090,000, the Disciples 1,220,000 each, the Congregationalists 790,000, the Reformed, German and Dutch, 540,000 ; of the remaining 3,000,000 one third are divided between the United Brethren, the German Evangelical Synod and the Churches of Christ, and the other 2,000,000 belong to bodies with 100,000 or less. Of bodies over 50,000 there are no less than 46. The Unitarians have 82,515 and the Universalists 58,566.

The contrast to the situation in England is patent. There the Church of England includes the majority

*Cf. Walter Laidlaw: "Roman Catholicism and Protestantism," p. 5. New York, 1921.

of the population, and the Free Churches, while divided among themselves, are comparatively few in number. In Scotland the contrast is still more striking. Should the union of the United Free and the Established Churches be consummated, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland will include nine-tenths of the Protestant church members of the country. In the United States, on the other hand, not only is the number of bodies to be considered much larger, but the larger bodies are themselves divided. There are seventeen different Methodist bodies, seventeen Baptist, nineteen Lutheran, and ten Presbyterian. Of the larger communions only the Protestant Episcopal Church has retained its unity, and even here the defection of the Reformed Episcopal Church is a reminder of the independent spirit of American Christianity.

These divisions are the outward symbol of the spirit of the American people. A nation of individualists, descendants of the pioneers who found their way across the sea in search of liberty, they have preserved in later generations the distrust of centralized authority which was characteristic of their ancestors. Some government they realized they must have, but the less the better. Hence the check placed upon the power of the executive by the legislature and upon the legislature by the veto power of the President. The same distrust reappears in the constitution of the American Church. Even in highly organized bodies like the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian, the local churches remain in a very real sense the final authority, and while with the growth of years the power of bishop and of presbytery has increased, there is no permanent presiding officer who corresponds to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in whom the unity

of the church is symbolized. If unity is to be attained in the States, it must be by the free consent of the different bodies to be brought together, and this in the case of so many and such widely different groups is not easy to secure.

A second difference to be taken into account is the absence of an Established Church. This affects the problem in two ways. It reinforces the individualistic tendencies of which we have spoken. Since all the churches are on a parity before the law, there is no single body which can rightly take the initiative in the movement for unity. The faintest suggestion that any denomination claims prerogatives not possessed by the others is resented and becomes at once a psychological obstacle to reunion, even if the proposal made be in itself reasonable. But the fact that there is no establishment of religion relieves the Episcopal Church of the handicap under which it labours in England in the minds of all those Christians (as the Baptists) who make the separation of Church and State a matter of conscience. One further advantage resulting from the separation of Church and State is that there is no obstacle to reunion but the will of the churches. From the first, it has been the disposition of the courts of the United States to give the governing bodies of the several denominations the fullest recognition. Only in the case of disputes between Christians does the court intervene, and then only to determine points of law. If the denominations wish to unite, there is no legal difficulty to be overcome such as the existence of vested rights, which stands in the way of the union of Free and Established Churches.

A third characteristic of American Christianity which bears upon the subject of our present inquiry is the great importance attached by all the churches

to practical activity. In the earlier history this practical interest showed itself primarily in personal evangelism. The great revival movements with which the names of Whitfield and of Finney were associated knew no distinction of denomination in their appeal, and the common experience of conversion helped to break down the divisions between Christians. At the same time the great stretches of unoccupied territory into which pioneers from the East were continually pushing made some form of Home Missions and Church Extension necessary. So the various denominations organized their home missionary societies, and the American Sunday School Union, a voluntary society of interdenominational character gathered the children into schools which later grew into churches. Side by side with the home missionary interest went the foreign missionary appeal. First through the American Board and then through denominational missionary societies the gifts and interest of American Christians reached across the sea and penetrated to every land.

This widespread missionary activity tended to break down the narrow individualism of an earlier day and to make American Christians conscious of their common Christianity. Although from one point of view the denomination is a divisive influence, from another it is a school of Christian unity. It has lifted the members of local congregations out of the rut of their provincialism and has made them realize their responsibility to the nation and to the world. A movement like Methodism, for example, building up a great organization with a highly developed consciousness of corporate responsibility, has been an educative influence the importance of which it is difficult to over-estimate.

In recent years the conception of the missionary task of the church has steadily broadened. The limitations of the older individualistic Gospel are being recognized. We see that man is not an isolated individual, but a person living in a certain environment and that our business as Christians is not complete until we have changed men's relationships all along the line. Such a book as Walter Rauschenbusch's "Christianizing the Social Order," expresses a view of the church's responsibility which is finding ever wider acceptance in the American Church. A signal expression of this new viewpoint is the Social Ideals of the Churches, a statement adopted by the Federal Council in 1908. In this statement the Council asserts the responsibility of the churches for applying Christian principles to the conduct of industry and points out some of the consequences which follow for our present industrial system. This deepening social consciousness is a further unifying influence in American Christianity. Those who take this broader view of Christian service are not confined to any one denomination. They are found within all, and their common effort to realize the Christian social ideal is bringing them together.

But we are interested here not simply in the growing spirit of unity, but in the organized forms through which it is finding expression. There are at least five different centres from which the movement is proceeding, each of which deserves brief mention.

In the first place, a word must be said of the voluntary societies in which Christians of different denominations work together for common ends. There are many such societies in America and they command large resources of men and money. Among the most important may be mentioned the American Bible

Society, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour, the Temperance and Sabbath Associations, and above all the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The Evangelical Alliance was a pioneer in the work. Later movements were the Laymen's Missionary Movement and the Missionary Education Movement. Some idea of the strength of these movements and the intelligence and devotion they command may be gained by considering the work done by the Christian Associations during the War.

A second centre of the movement for unity is the local community. One of the most signal failures of American Protestantism has been its failure to prevent overchurching in rural and village communities. Churches have been planted without regard to the needs of the population or their ability to support a minister, with the result that we find in some quarters an overchurching which is scandalous, side by side with the almost complete neglect of needy districts. A study of the State of Ohio by Messrs. Pinchot and Gill called the nation's attention to this scandal and steps are being taken to deal with it.

Of these the movement for the community church is the most interesting. It has three main forms: the union church, the federated church and the denominational church serving the whole community. The union church ignores existing denominational affiliations and builds from the ground up. The federated church does not disturb the denominational connexion of its members but reports them to their several denominations and makes a proportional division of the benevolences of the congregation. The denominational church serving the entire community results from a consolidation or removal of existing

churches in favour of some one church which is in a position to care adequately for all the interests involved.

The movement for the community church is still in its infancy. The complete statistics are not available. Of churches of the first kind there are known to be 325 ; of the second kind between 250 and 300 ; of the third a large and increasing number. Two possibilities are open, either that a new denomination may arise of a more liberal and inclusive character based upon the principle of community service, or that the example of the more liberal churches may so influence the older bodies that the community church of the denominational type may be able to deal with the situation adequately.

In larger communities the unity aimed at by the community church is realized through the Federation of Churches. This is a union of the churches of different denominations in a single city, or—if the community is too large for this—of the denominations themselves or their responsible missionary agencies. There are forty-five such federations at the present time, each with its paid secretary and common budget, and they are dealing with a large and increasing number of interests, such as religious education, social service, evangelism, church extension and the like. Through the Federation the consciousness of the common responsibility of all Christians for the community in which they live is fostered and the primitive Christian ideal of the church in the city is revived.

A third form of the movement for unity is administrative unity. By this is meant the co-operation of the official educational and missionary agencies of the church in inter-denominational conferences, coun-

cils and committees. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America was here a pioneer. Since 1893 this has brought together the foreign mission Boards of the United States and Canada, both men and women. It functions through a permanent executive committee known as the Committee on Reference and Counsel as well as through a number of special committees, and has been a potent unifying influence in the work of the churches both at home and abroad.

The home mission agencies are united in the Home Missions Council which, unlike the Foreign Missions Conference, includes only the men's Boards, but which in recent years has been co-operating with the Council of Women for Home Missions through a series of joint committees which accomplish the same purpose as the corresponding committees of the Foreign Missions Conference.

The educational agencies of the churches co-operate in the Council of Church Boards of Education and in the recently formed Sunday School Council of Religious Education. The Religious Education Association brings together in unofficial ways all those who are interested in promoting religious education on a nation-wide scale. Plans are under foot for a National Council of Christian Education, which will unify all the official educational agencies of the church.

In view of the complete separation of church and state in the United States, the voluntary union of the different Christian bodies in a nation-wide educational programme becomes especially important. Of the 450,000 students in institutions of higher learning in this country, half are in state universities where no formal instruction in religion is permitted. One of the most interesting experiments now being tried in the United States is the attempt through the co-

operation of the different Christian bodies to provide a system of voluntary religious instruction in connection with the state universities of such high grade that the university authorities will give it academic recognition.

A significant feature in connection with the present movement for administrative unity is the increased interest taken by women in the business of the church. In the past this interest has expressed itself largely through independent women's organizations, but with the increasing unity of the work the separation of men and women is becoming unsatisfactory, and both in the individual denominations and in the interdenominational agencies, men and women are beginning to work together on the same Boards.

The most ambitious attempt in the field of administrative union was the Interchurch World Movement. This was an attempt to unite all the administrative agencies of the church in a common survey of the task of the church and a common appeal for the men and money needed to accomplish it successfully. Begun under the inspiration of the war enthusiasm, it did not adequately take into account the strength of the denominational spirit or the reaction that was bound to come when the strain of war-activity ceased. Plans were made on too extravagant a scale and not enough time was left for the quiet education which was necessary for success. Nevertheless the movement was a great demonstration of the possibilities of concerted action and lifted the scale of giving in the churches to a higher plane. The new impulse which it imparted has perpetuated itself in a number of denominational forward movements which together have more than doubled the income of the churches for missionary and benevolent purposes.

With this enlarged missionary programme has gone a corresponding change in the organization of the different churches. The old distrust of a strong central authority is slowly giving way. This is most noticeable in churches like the Baptist and the Congregational, where the local congregation has hitherto been the unit of authority, but it appears also in more highly centralized bodies like the Presbyterian and the Episcopal. Executive committees or councils have been created through which the denominations can function between the meetings of their conventions, and in these central committees which provide the churches with an organ for continuous common action we have for the first time the conditions of a nation-wide co-operative movement.

A powerful impetus to the movement toward unity was given by the war. This not only made Christians realize as never before the necessity of coming together in order to function effectively, but it helped them to find the way in which this could be done. The General War-Time Commission of the Churches was created with a central Executive Committee and a common treasury through which American Protestanism functioned for war purposes with a unity and effectiveness never attained before.

It is against this background of local and administrative unity that we have to consider the movement for reunion in its larger aspects. This has two main forms, the movement for federal union and the movement for organic union. The first has its organ in the Federal Council of the Churches. The second is expressed in a number of different ways, through the movement for the reunion of denominational families, through the so-called Philadelphia Plan for the organic unity of the American churches, through the

proposals of the Commission on Faith and Order for an Ecumenical conference which shall be geographically as well as denominationally inclusive.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was founded in 1908 under a plan which was ratified by the national assemblies of more than thirty denominations. Its objects were defined as follows :

" I. To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church.

" II. To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.

" III. To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.

" IV. To secure a larger combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.

" V. To assist in the organization of local branches of the Federal Council to promote its aims in their communities."

So far as the denominations are concerned, its functions are purely advisory, its constitution providing that it has no authority to limit the full autonomy of the Christian bodies adhering to it.

The Council consists of four hundred members officially named by the various denominations and meets once in four years. It functions in the interim through an Executive Committee of one hundred meeting annually, and an Administrative Committee of forty meeting monthly. Representatives of the various administrative agencies of the churches as well as of the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations sit on the Administrative

Committee as corresponding members. In addition the Council has a number of Commissions which deal with such special topics as evangelism, Christian education and social service. These Commissions are of two kinds—those which aim to co-ordinate the activities of existing denominational agencies, such as the Commission on Evangelism and Life Service and the Commission on the Church and Social Service, and those which carry out tasks for which separate denominational agencies do not exist, such as the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, the Commission on Councils of Churches, and the Commission on Relations with Religious Bodies in Europe.

During the earlier years of the Council's existence the denominations felt little direct responsibility for its success, their contribution being confined to the appointment of delegates to the quadrennial meeting and a small money payment which for all thirty denominations together did not amount to more than $16,000 annually. Most of the work of the Council was done through the Commissions, which raised their own funds and relied upon the moral influence of their action. Since the war, however, there has been a marked change of sentiment. The need for some responsible central body which can act for all the churches is increasingly felt. At the Boston meeting in 1921, accordingly, action was taken to make the connection between the denominations and the Council closer. The denominations were requested to accept full financial responsibility for the support of the Council upon a budget agreed upon (as was done during the war in the case of the General War-Time Commission) and many have already done so. The United Lutheran Church, some of whose constituent bodies had previously had no relation to the Federal

Council, has assumed a consultative relationship. The question of the attitude of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which hitherto has been represented only through its Commission on Social Service, will be determined at its General Convention in October, 1922.

The movement for organic union has taken three forms: first, that which aims at the reunion of the divided denominational families. Most of the larger denominations have standing committees on co-operation and union, and negotiations are under way between different groups looking to closer relations. In the Lutheran Church these negotiations have already been crowned with success. Three of their larger bodies have come together in the United Lutheran Church and seventeen other bodies have united in the National Lutheran Council. In the Presbyterian Church union has been consummated between the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, but the attempt to unite the remaining bodies (the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Church in the U.S. and the Reformed Church in America) has for the time failed. The same may be said of the union movements among the Methodists and the Baptists. Various obstacles are in the way, some doctrinal, some administrative, some practical. The different attitude toward the Negro in the north and south is one difficulty, and the more conservative character of the Southern Churches is another. Nevertheless the trend of the time is toward unity, and sooner or later we shall see the different bodies of the same family coming together.

A more ambitious attempt at reunion was the Philadelphia Conference on organic union. This was held in Philadelphia in 1918 at the instance of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and was attended by representatives of nineteen communions. An Ad Interim Committee was appointed to prepare a plan of union to be submitted to the churches. This plan, which was approved by the Conference in 1920, provides for a Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which shall have the following functions :

"*a*. The Council shall harmonize and unify the work of the united churches.

"*b*. It shall direct such consolidation of their missionary activities as well as of particular churches in overchurched areas as is consonant with the law of the land or of the particular denomination affected. Such consolidation may be progressively achieved, as by the uniting of the boards or churches of any two or more constituent denominations, or may be accelerated, delayed, or dispensed with, as the interests of the Kingdom of God may require.

"*c*. If and when any two or more constituent churches, by their supreme governing or advisory bodies, submit to the Council for its arbitrament any matter of mutual concern, not hereby already covered, the Council shall consider and pass upon such matter so submitted.

"*d*. The Council shall undertake inspirational and educational leadership of such sort and measure as may be proper, under the powers delegated to it by the constituent churches in the fields of Evangelism, Social Service, Religious Education, and the like."

The plan provides that when six communions shall have approved the proposal it shall go into operation, but thus far only one denomination has adopted it and there seems little likelihood of its being carried into effect.

While professing to be a plan for organic union, the

Philadelphia Plan provides only for a Federal Council with larger powers. This was doubtless one of the reasons for its failure. If organic union is to come about by way of federal union, why, it may be asked, create a new Council? Why not strengthen the organization already existing? There is nothing in the present constitution of the Federal Council which would prevent it from assuming the powers proposed by the Philadelphia Plan provided the constituent bodies desire it.

Another reason for the failure of the Philadelphia Plan was the shortness of the time given to its preparation. In matters of this kind a long process of education is the essential pre-condition of success. But for this no provision had been made. The plan was the plan of a Committee, and the great mass of the Christian people knew little of what was going on.

In marked contrast to the failure of the Philadelphia Plan is the success of the movement for reunion in the churches of Canada. For more than twenty years a movement has been going on for uniting the Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists in a single church, and while it has met with the strong opposition of a minority, especially among the Presbyterians, the opposition has been gradually overcome and it looks now as if the United Church of Canada were soon to become a reality.

The last form of the movement for organic unity is that advocated by the Commission on Faith and Order. This, as is well known, contemplates a conference of all the existing branches of the church to discuss their differences and their agreements, particularly in the field of faith and order. The conference was originally designed to include Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, but the refusal of

the Roman Church to be present has made it necessary to restrict it to the Protestant and Greek Catholic churches. Even within this restricted sphere the conference contemplates no immediate action and must, therefore, be regarded rather as expressing an aspiration for the future than as proposing any immediately practicable plan.

New interest in the question of church unity has been aroused by last year's pronouncement of the Bishops at Lambeth. This pronouncement is notable not only because of the earnest Christian spirit which inspired it, but because of its full recognition of the fact that the non-Episcopal churches, having been blessed by God as truly as the older churches, are to be regarded as parts of the one great Church with gifts and graces of their own which it is their duty to God to conserve in the interests of the whole brotherhood.

So far as the special proposal of the Conference is concerned, there is slight disposition on the part of the great mass of American Protestant Christians to think it practicable. To the Episcopate as such there would seem to be little objection. Indeed it is interesting to see how in ways congruous to their genius the other denominations are developing an organization which is Episcopal in all but name. But to accept reordination would seem to most Protestants to acquiesce in the exclusive and sacerdotal conception of the church against which Baptists and Congregationalists have always protested. It is pointed out that the recognition which the Episcopalians are willing to receive is already freely accorded to them by their non-Episcopal brethren.

In individual cases, some local adjustment may be possible. Such an arrangement as the proposed

Concordat between Episcopalians and Congregationalists* may relieve the strain in local situations, but does not offer much hope as a solution of the problem as a whole. If progress is to be made it must follow the lines of the existing life of the church expressed in the various co-operative movements which we have passed in review. When these grow so strong that they command the allegiance of each church member as truly as the interests of his own denomination, the goal of organic union will be in sight.

For indeed the antithesis so often made between federal union and organic union is based upon a fundamental misconception. Some of the most striking examples of organic union in the world to-day are federal. Such is the United States of America; such is the British Empire. In each case we see independent and self-governing bodies becoming conscious of spiritual sympathies and common needs strong enough to justify the creation of a new and inclusive organization which in time has come to command their major loyalty. Such a process is now going on in the American churches. No student of organic union can afford to neglect the larger phases of the co-operative movement which we have passed in review. For they tell us the story of unity in the making. The Bishops of Lambeth rightly perceived that any attempt at reunion based upon an abrupt break with the past must be futile. The way lies forward, not back. Organic union, whether between churches or between states, will come to pass whenever the spiritual unity which already exists between the

*A proposal for the reordination of Congregational ministers to enable them to minister to Episcopalians, without affecting their previous standing as Congregational ministers.

different units to be related creates organs of expression so effective and permanent that they can command the whole-hearted and unreserved allegiance of all who live under them. There is no other way.

THE VITAL MYSTERY

" Where public worship is habitual it is often rendered with great simplicity : the reality is sufficient."

THERE are regions of Christendom in which regular public worship is frequented by the people as a matter of course. The practice of religion prevailing there may not be admirable in other respects, there may be current superstitions and a low standard of moral conduct, but in this one respect there is a conspicuous recognition of godliness, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that it stands alone. In England there is a curious reversal of this state of things. With a fairly high standard of moral integrity, public and private, with a comparative absence of superstition, with a general recognition of the majesty and righteousness of God, there has been for many years past a neglect of public worship which is one of the most striking features of the national religion. A small minority worships regularly, but seldom with any strong sense of obligation ; a larger minority attends casually, when so disposed ; by the majority of our people the duty is entirely ignored. Reason and experience alike forbid the flattering supposition that the defect stands alone ; it is symptomatic of a larger kind of irreligion.

To understand this state of things, its causes and the possible remedies, we need a clear conception of that which is thus neglected. What is worship ? It

is a recognition of God, the Creator, the Judge, the King immortal and invisible. But it is something more. It is a point of contact between spirit and spirit. God is not to be worshipped as a remote Being. Worship is an act of Communion with God. This conception is not in any way peculiar to Christianity : it lies at the root of all worship, alike the most degraded and the highest. What is peculiar to the Christian religion is a mode of communion which we believe to be given and ordained by God Himself through the mediation of Jesus Christ.

There are many ways of communion with God. There are attempted ways which the Christian Church condemns as superstitious ; some forms of magic, though not all, have this character ; every form of pagan worship is an approach to it, though in some cases the approach stops short of the Creator, and terminates in the worship of a creature. There are modes of approach, not specifically Christian, which the Christian Church tolerates or encourages ; the way of Mystic Ascent is of the number.

We have, therefore, to reckon with various modes of worship. None are negligible ; some are precious. The silence of a Quaker Meeting is true worship ; the solitary musing of a hermit in the desert is true worship : there was true worship in Wordsworth's communing with nature, for the eternal Power and Godhead of the Creator are to be clearly discerned in the things that are made. There may be true worship in the details of a busy philanthropy. I speak less confidently here ; for there is more than a little danger of stopping short at care for the creature. But my subject is public worship, the common worship of a community, expressed by speech or action. What is the nature of this ?

Speech is inadequate. It is necessarily the expression of individual thought. Common forms of speech may be devised for expressing thoughts which are shared by a company of men ; hymns and prayers become common property ; originally passionate outpourings of a single soul, they have been accepted as the utterance of all. But constant failure waits on this kind of worship. The bad side of formality is well in evidence. One feels it when a congregation sings with enjoyment words which have sprung from an agony of penitence, a fervour of hope, a passion of love, shared perhaps by none or few of those who are using them. Even more inadequate is a form of worship in which one man utters the thoughts of his own heart, while others listen and try to enter into his emotions. A leader so engaged may communicate something to his hearers by sympathy or by the arts of oratory, and may stir them to eager assent, but such results are obviously precarious, and can seldom attain the pitch of a genuinely common utterance.

I think we may do well to consider whether a conception of public worship as thus founded in speech, general in England for many years past, has not produced the neglect which we are considering. The unreality of it is sometimes patent ; when latent, it none the less tends to discouragement. Even a soul ready or eager for worship may argue, more or less consciously, that if this be worship he can render it more effectively by the stammering utterances of his own heart than by the richest outpourings of another. The issue will be a tendency, already rebuked in the earlier days of Christianity, to forsake the gathering together of the faithful, and to worship, if at all, in solitude.

Action is less inadequate. A common action,

agreed as expressing a reality, is the best index of a common purpose. The religious instinct of man has led the way here. Common prostration, ritual acts performed in common, have been generally used as modes of public worship, and they have been able to endure with astonishing vitality. What they express is generalized : it is not the sense of an individual soul, but the larger idea which underlies and controls the emotions of many souls. I would venture on the paradox that the silent immobility of a Quaker Meeting is an action of this kind, which may be nullified when one of the members opens his mouth to express what has come to him in particular.

The kind of action which men of all ages and of all races have found seemly for the expression of divine worship is an act of offering. It is the natural form of homage : " Bring presents and come into His courts." The natural instinct, implanted by the Creator, is acknowledged by Him in the ordering of the religion which we believe to be expressly revealed : " Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty." There is an element of anthropomorphic crudeness in the worship of the Old Testament which is refuted by Psalmist and Prophet, a notion that God profits by the oblations of His people ; but in the most highly spiritualized teaching of the New Testament, access to God is still treated in terms of offering : " Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God." The human instinct is verified and approved.

There is a hindrance. A sense of unworthiness oppresses the worshipper. What is he, that he should offer his homage to the Holy God ? They are not the highest forms of religion which encourage a merely cheerful approach, with offerings of flowers and fruits and other beautiful things of the world. Higher and

deeper thoughts of God provoke an anxious doubt, which is finely expressed in the question put by the prophet Micah into the mouth of Balak: "Wherewith shall I come before God, and bow myself before the High God?" The sense of sin, the doom of death, suggest the need of offering a life, the most precious and the most irreplaceable of all possessions. The act may be spiritualized into the offering of one's own life to the service of God, a living sacrifice. But this life is a maimed thing, and is already forfeit. The natural impulse is to find a substitute, which should be something peculiarly precious: "Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" Once more the implanted instinct is approved, but is regulated; the Mosaic ritual is in great part an ordering of this natural impulse, with a regular provision of symbolic substitutes for the human sacrifices characteristic of the general Semitic religion, as of other profound searchings after God. There are both private sacrifices and public, but all are brought together into a connected system, and the great public sacrifices, especially those of the Passover and of the Day of Atonement, dominate the whole; the effect sought is the communion of Israel, and of the individual Israelite in and through the community, with the Holy God. The symbolic act of communion is consummated in the sacrificial feast, the partaking of the flesh of the victim.

This whole conception is taken up into Christian doctrine. The Church of the New Testament is a true continuation of the Church of the Old Testament on a higher plane. The sacrificial system is more than allowed: it is fulfilled. Sacrifice is shown to be not merely a thought of man, approved by God: it is

revealed as a thought of God Himself. The many sacrifices of the Old Testament, the multifarious sacrifices of the whole world, are shown to be types of the One Sacrifice which is an act of God Incarnate, done on behalf of all mankind. The language of sacrifice is continued : there is the slain Lamb, Christ our Passover ; there is the Blood of the Covenant, poured out in atonement for the remission of sin ; there is the sacrificial feast for the consummation of communion. The offering of a life, the shedding of blood, is completed once for all, in the person of a Victim adequate for all needs ; but the Act is continued in a symbolic representation, where the symbols are realities because expressly appointed by God the Author of all reality.

There is therefore a corporate Act of Worship, peculiar to the Christian Church, which expresses in the most general manner the idea of access to the Father and communion with God through Jesus Christ. This act has been for generations thrust into the background of English worship ; psalmody and hymnody, teaching and preaching, vocal prayer of an exalted and rather exacting kind, have been in the foreground. It is not surprising that the practice of worship has languished, and that the spirit of formality has laid hold upon it. In the true Christian Act of Worship all these formal things have a place, but they are subordinate, and their relation to the central act redeems them from formality, bringing them into a vital connexion with the great Mystery of Salvation.

Are there signs of amendment ? Many of the conspicuous improvements which have changed the face of public worship during the last sixty years are conspicuous failures in this respect. They

have touched only the face. They are mere adornments of the kind of worship already in vogue; with the aid of music and the decorative arts it has been rescued from drabness, and has won a certain measure of limited popularity. But in its essence it remains unsatisfying, and these outward embellishments do not appeal to the soul. The general decay of the habit of public worship has not been arrested by them. It may even have been accelerated; for the adornment of mere formalities makes their formalism the more exasperating; the revolt of earnest souls seeking communion with God is the more violent, and indifferent souls needing an impulse are inclined to scoff at meretricious embellishments. It may also be observed that in the regions where attendance on public worship is habitual and general it is often rendered with great simplicity; the reality is sufficient; drabness in accidental details appears to be no drawback. It is a notable fact that in some countries Low Mass is a more popular service than High Mass rendered with the accompaniments of splendid music and stately ceremonial. The reform of public worship in England seems to have taken, as a rule, the wrong direction.

The better way has been followed on a small scale. In isolated parish Churches the Christian Sacrifice has been given its proper place, sometimes with excellent results. But three causes have led to comparative failure. In the first place, the isolaton of the effort has hindered success; it has been severed from the general movement of the national religion, and has been regarded as a mere eccentricity. In the second place, untoward circumstances have fixed attention upon subsidiary details and accessories; the public has been genuinely shocked by vehement

contention about trifles. In all cases important principles have been at stake, but these were often remote from the immediate matter in hand, which veiled rather than revealed them, and the public had no grip of the serious questions involved. "Ritualism," in the public eye, was a matter of candles and postures, and ornaments of the minister. In the third place, there has usually been a compromise with the bad tradition that was being displaced, and a yielding to it which has been sufficient to keep it alive, even where it was attacked. The total result has been that improvement is sporadic and precarious.

There are signs, however, of a wider movement. When we speak of English religion we must not think only of the straitly orthodox. There is a tendency among us who hold by the historic hierarchy to ignore others, to look for amendment only among ourselves; but there are many shades and degrees of difference intricately interlaced, with a considerable amount of mutual influence and reaction. English society is not cut up into sharply defined religious sections. The bad tradition spreads across denominational bodies, and it is probable that a general improvement will not be attained unless it is widely diffused. It is therefore important to watch indications of such a movement. They may be expected, if anywhere, from the survivors of the vast gatherings of men brought together from all quarters for the service of the war, which uprooted men from habitual surroundings, and subjected them to the vigorous influences of a new life. It is agreed on all hands that the English soldier in these circumstances was discovered to have strong religious instincts, but an almost entire lack of religious

training and religious habits. Very few of the men practised religion with any understanding, or with the traditional attention which may be a working substitute for understanding. There is nothing surprising in this: it is just what anyone would expect who has observed with any care the settled habits of the English people. But there is some wavering testimony to a certain spiritual movement. Reports are discrepant. On the one hand we hear that men heartily enjoyed what has been succinctly described as "Y.M.C.A. religion": the singing of hymns, common prayer, and brief addresses. Much satisfaction has been felt in the intermingling of all religious denominations in these exercises. So far there seems to be evidence of a quickening of the current tradition of inadequate worship, but possibly it may not prove any more adequate as thus revived under the stress of temporary emotions. On the other hand there is witness, less general, to a demand for communion among men who previously ignored that mode of worship, and to a ready response when it was offered. The form in which this readiness displayed itself was not always pleasing to those who have a regard for ecclesiastical tradition, but it was not on that account the less significant.

Of a different kind is the appearance of movement in quarters which are the stronghold of the tradition from which it is necessary to break away. Twice within recent years I have heard remarkable expressions of opinion from Unitarian ministers, men representing different aspects of Unitarianism and, so far as I know, not at all in touch with each other. One of them was of the keen intellectual type; his comment was, "The thing most lacking in our worship is the element of sacrifice." The other was

busy in all kinds of social work; his contribution to debate was blunter in style: "What we want is the Mass." His object of desire some Free Churchmen, who stand nearer to Catholic Christianity, are trying to provide for themselves. The experiments made by Dr. Orchard at the King's Weigh House move some men to an amused resentment; to me they seem significant and hopeful. I shall not ask here whether he has a reality, or only a colourable imitation. I am concerned with the significance even of an imitation, and I find in the innovation evidence of two things: of a profound discontent with the kind of worship which this nonconformist leader has inherited from Puritan ancestry, and of the satisfaction which the Catholic treatment of the Christian Sacrifice, in doctrine and ritual, can give to the awakening religious instincts of our day. If Dr. Orchard stood alone, his new departure might be a mere eccentricity, though to some men the support and acquiescence of his people would tell a tale. But he does not stand alone. What the membership of the "Society of Free Catholics" may be I do not know, but it is, apparently, numerous enough to make some noise in the world, and Mr. Peck's book, "The Coming of Free Catholicism" is full of the spirit of confident adventure. If the movement spreads it will change the face of English worship, and substitute for dull uniformity an astonishing variety of vagaries, all tending in one direction. Jealous Catholics may complain that the change is superficial, and dread the practical results of this stealing of their orthodox thunder; but I think their strictures are unjust and their fears unnecessary. The movement is not superficial; it answers to a need deeply felt in the Christian

consciousness. Its manifestations can hardly be dangerous, for any elements of unreality that may exist in them should breed a new form of unrest, a renewed discontent, a craving for certainty and for that fulness of content which the followers of the old Catholicism believe themselves alone to possess.

To the man gifted with enough detachment to stand on the hills of thought, and enough vision to see beyond immediate restlessness, in the far or near distance, the broad highway to which these pilgrims of a healthy discontent converge, the signs are encouraging. They point two ways: to a desire for the wider track upon which united Christendom can walk in harmony and to a recognition of genuine worship as the bond of union. A Corporate Act is sought, common to all Christendom, in which men may draw near to God, not timidly but with the triumphant certainty of the Divine Yea and Amen.

RENAISSANCE IN SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND PHILOSOPHY

SCIENCE REACHING UPWARD
Professor Patrick Geddes, D.Sc.

THE RENAISSANCE OF EDUCATION
J. C. Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E., M.A. D.Sc.
(Sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.)

MY AFFIRMATIONS
The Very Rev. William Canon Barry, D.D.

SCIENCE REACHING UPWARD

" For idealism there is every hope and no real fear : already we see reorganized science and revitalised religion approaching each other."

It is clearly demanded of the students of the Sciences, both the cosmic and the human, that—irrespective of their personal equations, whether of adherence or dissent as regards the teachings of the historic faiths, or the interpretations of the philosophical schools—they should study phenomena apart from these ; not only intensively in details, but as comprehensively as may be also. From each of these sides of enquiry, results have emerged, and continue to appear. Those of definite scientific detail appeal especially to the practical man, with applications accordingly : as so notably in industry, in medicine, and in war. But the present question is—what results appear from the generalising studies of the sciences, and what bearings have they for speculative and for religious minds ? How far are these in harmony or in contrast with historic faiths and philosophies ?

That there is Order in the Universe is being ever increasingly discerned—indeed beyond all previous insight or anticipation, and this throughout ever-widening, ever-narrowing magnitudes, alike of space, of energy, and of time. Again the esthetic order, of *Cosmos* and *Mundus* as Beauty (in which philologists have found the ancient and basal meaning of these words), is also being more and more fully appre-

ciated. But, above all, what are the results of the sciences upon the ethical plane? How far do these agree or differ from faiths and philosophies as to the Universe as Good?—or at any rate in which the good, despite all processes or appearances to the contrary, is tending to prevail? For if the processes of nature and life are discernibly making for this predominance, it plainly follows that man may live in hope, and work in harmony with these. Such a conception of applied science is obviously in keeping with the historic teachings which have already proclaimed this as duty; and it so far confirms such teachings for modern minds. Failing this, the converse result must tend to follow, with pessimism accordingly; for which all this order becomes viewed as inexorably fate, and all beauty as but the perfecting of its veils of illusion.

What then are the Sciences?—and what are the main conceptions, the general results of these, with which philosophy, morals, and religion have to reckon?

The "Classification of the Sciences," despite many endeavours,* has not yet been clearly established. Still, a general and working agreement prevails among scientific workers that the sciences are primarily (*a*) Logico-Mathematical, (*b*) Physical, (*c*) Biological, and (*d*) Social. This order is that of generality. Pythagoras' teaching of the universal range of numbers and quantity is ever increasingly confirmed; while since later times the persistence of matter and the conservation of energy are ever being found to apply more fully in the processes of life, and even in those of society. Similarly the characteristic processes of

*Flint, *Scientia Scientiarum*, Edinburgh, 1904.

life—those of self-maintaining and race-maintaining—are ever being more fully traced throughout the social sciences; and their respective evolution processes are enquired into, and as far as may be, parallelised.

These "legitimate materialisms" have indeed been peculiarly investigated, and with fruitful results. The play of mechanism, the interaction of physical and chemical forces, are being increasingly demonstrated in all organic fields, and have thus long furnished the main lines of advance in physiology, even in medicine; and no less plainly also in our social life and activities, whether these be directed to the constructive industries of peace, or to the destructive arts of war. And, after the superlative struggle for existence between societies in which we have ourselves in these years been all in various ways participators, we shall also see more clearly than ever in the future the intensity of the struggle within them.

So numerous, so comprehensive, and so definite have been the results of this scientific method—of application of the more general sciences to the more special—that this perspective has come to predominate, so that "Science" for most people, and even most scientific workers, practically means Mathematico-Physical science. In Education the same perspective naturally predominates; so that schoolboy and undergraduate alike are "grounded" in arithmetic, geometry, and mechanics, in physics and chemistry, but comparatively little in nature-knowledge or physiology, and not in social science at all. The Humanities are still conventionally imparted in their pre-sociological forms (history or economics not yet adequately excepted) though attempts towards application of the preliminary sciences increasingly appear.

Under these circumstances, the conspicuous results of scientific enquiry available for the interpretation of the social life present this as conditioned, at any rate in our industrial, imperial, and financial age, by the progress of mechanisms and of chemical processes ; by the magnitude, possession and exploitation of natural resources ; by health, strength, breed and numbers of population ; by the instruction of these towards individual survival, by participation in the needful and ever-increasing division of labour which our industrial processes require ; and it seems to many above all, in the discipline towards group-survival in the internal and inter-social struggle for existence. Are not these plainly the main working concepts of our modern life ?—and hence broadly agreed on by all nations, at any rate in the measure of their modern progress, through their utilisation of the sciences towards these ends. And as from war we settle down once more towards peace, do we not see these concepts being more thoroughly insisted upon, even in every newspaper, and by practical man and by scientist, by teacher and statesman ?

But are no other sciences to be taken into account ? Yes ; yet officially hardly so ; the majority of scientific societies are mainly for physical and biological sciences ; and the " International Bibliography " of the Royal Society does not extend beyond these. There is an Economic and an Anthropological Society in every great capital, and the sections for these were long ago added to the British Association ; but what of ethical and psychological studies ? Ethical aspects of life are increasingly recognised by evolutionists, as aiding life-maintenance and reproduction, as cementing social groupings and aiding their survival ; the simpler psychological processes, too, are experi-

mentally investigated, especially in reference to the same ends, and also for pedagogic purposes; while Darwin long ago gave a lead to the interpretation of organic beauty, in terms of flower-fertilisation and sexual selection especially. All these then are becoming correlated to our fundamental perspective—physical, organic and social—and as strengthening this accordingly. In the field of social science little more is to be said; for ethics is still but in small demand in the economic or historical field; since economic results suffice to justify increased consideration for the well-being of the working-classes. Some psychology, as of pleasure and pain, has long been assumed by economists; and more lately also the esthetic factor in consumption's demand, and production's supply.

Such then broadly is the dominant general view of science; its limited response to the questions asked at the outset is also obvious; and though here and there philosophers, and sometimes even theologians have tried to make the best of it, the War can have taught us little if we have not seen in its progress the fullest growth and colouring of our apple of knowledge. If this be indeed the current presentiment of science, and essentially all that it has to offer us for to-morrow, let us honestly and frankly recognise it, as that which Germany so clearly and boldly brought to synthesis and application, and adopt her methods. With anything like the same logical coherence and courage, we need not despair of success in all this; and so, following her active translators and adaptors now so busy and so confident, for commerce, organisation, and education, and all these at once scientific, bureaucratic and imperial, neither we nor Americans need doubt of the world-power Germany has so narrowly

missed attaining. And, as her experience has further shown, there will be no lack of philosophers to demonstrate in this the complete realisation of culture, nor of theologians to appreciate the Divine favour in it all. For London will be rich, and increased in goods; and America will have to pull down her barns, and build greater. For any idealists of older schools who may survive as objectors and dissenters, a few holes and caves of the rocks will suffice.

Still, these may say, we have not fully made our survey of the main fields of science, nor related these to their services towards war and peace. Well, let us go a step farther. Recall, from our schoolbooks, introductory to such physical science as we learned, their orderly distinction of "Statics and Dynamics"; then in Biology and its medical schools we have the parallel succession, as "Anatomy and Physiology." In social science, the same presentment is familiar to all, as of Constitutions and its workings, of Institutions generally and their functionings, while all governments and their good citizens are agreed as to the indispensable condition of Order before Progress. To be perfectly clear, let us put down this serial succession of the sciences in general acceptance and in professional education :—

I Physical Sciences	II Biological Sciences	III Social Sciences
Statics : Dynamics	Anatomy : Physiology	State : Politics Constitution
	(Form, not : (Life, in living) function)	Order : Progress
	(Statics) : (Dynamics)	(Statics) : (Dynamics)

Now among these columns, our modern emphasis, alike as regards science and its applications, is plainly in the field of Physics, and there, of course, of Dynamics ; indeed enough to weight down the rest. What more natural then from this perspective and centre of activity, than to subordinate Life to the Machine, in peace, and to reduce Life to inert form, in War ? Is not this essential rhythm and outlook of our civilisation thus plainer ?—of our past " Peace " as latent War, in short but War-peace ?—and of our War as the fullest activity of which our scientific civilisation has yet been capable and to which it has appropriately led ? To the speculative mind various other questions may arise, as notably :—What if we were to try a different emphasis for a change ?—say that of Life in function and evolution (in older phrase, " Life more abundantly.") True, our State Constitutions are not made for this : even Governments or even Politicians have not as yet been very active or initiative in this direction ; still might we not now change our emphasis, from Mechanics and Death, to Life and Social Progress ? Even our conventional scientific perspective above is thus seen not to be exhausted.

But now a bolder question may be asked : Is this classification sound ?—this perspective the true one ? The physicist has long outlived the part of it assigned to him. For " Statics and Dynamics " is nonsense ; nothing is static ; what seems so is but an equilibrium in a world of active forces. And how active these forces, the radiologist has been teaching us, as before him the electrician, or earliest of all, the astronomer.

Again, despite the schools of medicine, " Anatomy and Physiology " is nonsense. Function precedes and determines structure ; the skeleton comes last,

not first in evolution, and alike in race and in individual.

Nor did State Constitutions make politics; it is Political struggles that settle Constitutions, for their term. Order never begot Progress; it is the realisation of some stage of Progress that determines the resultant Order. This induction is indeed verifiable throughout history, of cities and countries, great and small; for, alarming though it may seem to any well-policed society and its well-guarded citizens—well-nigh all the high blossomings of civilisation in Israel, Hellas or Rome, in medieval Florence, Paris, Ghent or Bruges, in renaissance Florence, Paris, or where you will again—were Progress in times of storm and stress; and generally, when the hard-won Order was realised, Progress slowed down with it, if not ended, as with the Florentines, reduced to *ciceroni* these past three hundred years.

But if this be controversial, return to general criticisms. What if the limitation of Biology to organic form and function, kept apart (even in different University "Faculties") from psychic function, be also nonsense? In any living being, above all our fellow man, we cannot separate these; we recognise him, we communicate with him, as mind and body working together. But the current —"Sciences" of these—"Biology" and "Psychology"—arose with the study of the corpse on the one hand, and on the other with that of the mind and spirit considered as actually or practically disembodied. Let us be clear then, and call such would-be sciences by truly descriptive names—"necrology" and "phantomology" respectively; studies pursued indeed in post-mortems and spirit-rappings; but both outside the study of life proper. But now

this study—of Life as we ordinarily know it—can neither be called " Biology " nor yet " Psychology " ; for with a moment's reflection it becomes plain, that, as students, say, of the senses, we are dealing with Bio-psychology ; while the expression of an idea is as obviously a matter of Psycho-biology.

This is not a trifling correction. It is not merely a criticism of medical and philosophic ideas and studies, as needing not only to learn from each other, as of course in some measure they have been doing. It is a demand to unite and renew their disciplines, in the study of Life, and this in its psych-organic fulness—even its ideals, up to Gods and Muses.

Every one can see that a curved line (say either of these brackets) is concave ; and also that it is convex. The geometer draws us chords in the first, and tangents to the second ; but he does not encourage us to think of concavology and convexology, chordology and tangentology. Still less would he allow us, obsessed by these fine new names for what are so far distinct " sciences " to think them apart, still less teach them in separate university faculties.

Yet this in principle, is what we are doing all the time. " Economics," graduates are still taught, and in their turn teach us—is a study distinct from ethics ; and correspondingly " Ethics " from economics ; but hence it is that " Economics," of all human interests becomes the most sordid, and Ethics probably the most futile. Yet the old word " Conduct "—meaning life and function in society—has in it both senses—of duty and efficiency together. Every doctor carries on both ; but as first of all helping his patients, and then taking his fees when he can get them. If he did the latter only, he would be a sordid quack ; if the former only, he would

soon be in futile starvation. But as this holds good of all occupations—this is to say that there is no science of Ethics, nor yet of Economics, save as concave and convex abstracted from each other. It is Eth-economics and Econom-ethics that our two perspectives have really to express—like concavo-convex and convexo-concave, according to our approach to them.

Again Industry and Art, Technology and Esthetics belong in our industrial civilisation to different worlds, and have totally distinct "educations." But has not any and every "good job"—from road-sweeping to statuary—at once its material and its esthetic aspect—and so in short, every practical activity?

Conduct, Life, Activity—to these three terms (say now more precisely Etheconomics, Psych-organics, Eutechnics,) our six "Sciences" are now condensed. And are they not deeply at one?—as Society, Individual Life, and Activity should be? And again as People, Work and Place?

Of our six supposed separate and distinct "Sciences" the separateness and distinctness thus turn out to be essentially logico-mythical. They are merely the six main aspects of the unity of life and of society; first narrowed by one-sidedness of approach and then mistaken for permanent entities by the routine of their votaries, and finally by the superstition of their respective public. The very word "Scientia" commemorates the dulness and scientific blankness of our masters, the Romans. The Greeks, who initiated each and all of the six great studies named above, knew better; they knew them for what they are, the "logies" (and "graphies") of the main aspects of this Universe, of cosmic,

vital and social discourse, which they of all men saw, and acted in, most clearly as one, in philosophy and in reality together.

The return towards this unity is thus the main hope of the opening scientific future; and its recovery is the main task before its universities; at least when no longer, as hitherto, mingled of pre-germanic and sub-germanic elements in varying degrees; but becoming post-germanic, that is neo-Hellenic. With this renewal of the Unity the old ideals of Good, True, and Beautiful, in desiring which all faiths concur, will again be reincorporated with the social, organic and physical studies; and these in terms of Conduct, Life and Activity. For idealism there is every hope; and no real fear; already we see that its reorganised science on the one side, its revitalised religion on the other are at various points approaching each other. That they have not met more fully, and long ere now, can be through no defect in the Unity, in which lies the faith of all sciences and of all religions worthy of their names. In this coming League of ideals, their respective doctrines will be clarified from their crudities, their respective mythic elements, in those worse senses of "myth" which they have respectively fallen into. Their common theme, of Cosmic and Human Evolution, their common task of victory over Evils, even of redemption from (and increasingly of) these, must unite in emotion, in reason, and even in imagery. Cosmogony, in course of its creative evolution, and human and idealistic interpretations of this, must ultimately be realised together. Ethopolity, and this as true Citizenship; Psychorganics and Education vital and evocatory; Eutechnics, ennobled to Creation, with Craftsmanship, Art and

Toil in one—are not these in the Coming of the Kingdom of the ideal ?—and on Earth as in Infinity ? From the camp of science we begin to see something of our way towards this—why not even in some measure through the wilderness of Reconstruction areas of West and East, to begin with, as well as at home ?

Yet we belong to Science and we cannot leave her. So with all goodwill to kindred spirits in all the Temples of the Faiths, whose historic initiatives, in all we now seek to understand and to apply, we cannot but loyally recognise, we must also ask them —What re-expression of these noble and enduring Mythopoesies of your great past can you now give us thinking and working folk of the everyday world ? so as to be comprehensible to us in modern terms, and applicable to our opening task of making a better world than that from which we are emerging ?

In the meantime, for our part, we shall be going on with our unification of the sciences, clearing up their present too chaotic and dispersive analyses, physical, biological and social especially. And if space allowed, concrete illustrations might be given, say, from the current transformation of our too static chemistry by radiologists and by biologists ; of our too mechanical biology by post-Darwinian evolution - doctrines ; and of our economics by social and moral considerations. From this thoroughgoing series of advances and their applications, appear, we repeat, Ethopolity, Psychorganics and Eutechnics, corresponding to the Conduct, Life and Activity of our former and simpler illustration. Righteousness, Inward Life as well as Outward Health, Joy of Art and Hope of Labour are all in

the immemorial desire of Religion. Herein, in the highest sense of Renaissance, lie its elements. May not such essenital re-union be re-religion?—and for us all alike?

THE RENAISSANCE OF EDUCATION

" The main business of all education is to form in the mind of every person a single wide interest, centred in a supreme purpose and especially to form that central purpose, to kindle the undying fire, to inspire with the Spirit of the Lord—for ' Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty.' "

JUST as this note on the Renaissance of Education begins to be written, there appears the report of Sir Eric Geddes, recommending that the national expenditure on education be reduced by nearly one third. That is the carefully weighed advice, tendered to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by five successful business men, of whom at least two hail from Scotland, where education is still esteemed more highly than in any other section of the English-speaking world.

Something drastic must certainly be done to secure a balance between the nation's income and its expenditure. But it is surely surprising that business men should select the education of the people for the largest proportionate cut of all : armaments by 23% —but education by 32%. One might have expected to read that, from the business point of view, education was the principal means of increasing national income. Of all that goes to make industry and commerce possible, let alone prosperous, the human element is the most important. To improve it by

more and better education would appear to be the surest way to increase the country's capacity for producing wealth. To take the opposite course would resemble starving the goose that lays the golden eggs. And yet five of the most eminent men in the world of British business are unanimously of opinion that, as one of the first steps towards balancing the national income and expenditure, we should spend one third less on education.

This sensational fact is not materially altered if certain features of the education estimates deserve all the criticism which Sir Eric Geddes' Committee levels at them. It may be true—I think it is true—that the percentage grant system (whereby local education authorities receive back from the Board of Education half of all they spend on certain forms of education below university level) tends to extravagance. It certainly encourages local authorities to withold money from university education and to concentrate expenditure on other types that may need it less, but that can be aided at a cost to the rates of only 50% of the expenditure*. Teachers' salary scales that make the pay of a schoolmaster depend mainly upon the duration, rather than the efficiency of his services, may also be open to grave objection : comparatively big prizes for first-rate men and women might result in greater keenness than all-round small increments of salary that do not depend on the excellence of the teacher's work. And Sir E. Geddes' Committee is doubtless right in maintaining that the cost of pensions for teachers in non-university institutions

* The 50% grants unfortunately throw on the Board of Education the responsibility for local details which Parliament meant to throw on Local Education Authorities ; for the latter will not incur any expenditure until they are assured that the Board will pay 50%. When they have that assurance the danger of extravagance comes in.

should not be wholly borne by state funds. But when every allowance is made for the effect of these considerations upon the minds of Sir Eric and his Committee, it remains a truly remarkable thing that their remedies for the present excess of national expenditure over national income should have included a diminished, instead of a more intense, effort to educate the people who produce the nation's wealth.

Why is it ? Why is not education, as at present provided in the state-aided schools and colleges of this country, more highly esteemed by men who have so wide an acquaintance with the product of these institutions ?

Let us at once dismiss the answer that men of affairs never think that education does much good. Soon after the outbreak of the great War, it was almost a commonplace that education had enormous power over the minds and souls of men. For example, a distinguished administrator—Lord Sydenham—then observed that those who remembered the simple, kindly people of the southern German States forty or fifty years earlier, must have been astonished at the radical changes the War had revealed ; and he went on to say that " the utilization of a large system of education for political purposes has enabled the ruling classes of Germany to Prussianise the whole country within two generations . . . the lesson we derive from this sad experience is that the power wielded by education is enormous for evil, but it must be equally powerful for good, properly handled."

Has it been properly handled in England ? For nearly half a century every English child has been required by law to attend school. All this time the teachers have grown in knowledge of the subjects and (what is more important) of the children they have had

to teach. All the paraphernalia of education have been steadily improving. School buildings and furniture, apparatus and equipment, the printing and (until recently) the price of school-books have become increasingly favourable to educational progress. So it has come about that every subject is better taught: and to better fed and more healthy children—school dinners and medical inspection have seen to that. And yet the result, as estimated by unbiassed and unquestionably able business men, does not justify the country in continuing to spend on it so much as one shilling in the pound of the income of the State, or one quarter of the national expenditure on armaments, or one half of the people's expenditure on tobacco, or one-eighth of the money they spend on drink!

The truth is, that the proper handling of education involves far more than the imparting of knowledge. It may be that education is not properly handled even when every teacher is expert in the subject that he teaches, even when his technique is perfect, and even when the school buildings and all the other material conditions leave nothing to be desired. Mr. Gradgrind was wildly wrong when he said that "What we want is facts," and implied that to instil a knowledge of facts was the whole object of education. In no better case was the parent who sent his son to Eton to learn, not facts, but manners, and cared not at all what else became of him. And, as Sir Michael Sadler* has lately reminded us, Sir Robert Peel stumbled into a false pilosophy of education when, some eighty years ago, he made a speech at the opening of a reading room in Tamworth. Sir Robert seems to have said

*"*Education for Life and Duty*," a paper published in a recent number of the International Review of Missions. The remainder of the paragraph in the text is taken from Sir Michael Sadler's paper.

that "in becoming wiser a man will become better," and that a widely diffused interest in knowledge, especially in physical knowledge, will contribute "to the intellectual and moral improvement of the community."

For this John Henry Newman* fell upon him with the retort that "to know is one thing: to do is another: the two things are altogether distinct. A man knows he should get up in the morning—he lies a-bed; he knows he should not lose his temper, yet he cannot keep it." Newman's charge against Peel, and against the facile optimism of the school of thought which Peel was echoing, is that modern education of the superficial type "makes no pretence of subduing the giant nature in which we were born, of smiting the loins of the domestic enemies of our peace, of overthrowing passion and fortifying reason." Then, with rising emotion, he concludes: "If virtue be a mastery over the mind, if its end be action, if its perfection be universal order, harmony and peace, we must seek guidance in graver and holier places. . . . The problem of statesmen of this age is how to educate the masses; and literature and science cannot give the solution. Faith, not knowledge or argument, is our principle of action . . . intrinsically excellent and noble as are scientific pursuits and worthy of a place in a liberal education, and fruitful in temporal gifts to the community, still they are not, and cannot be, the instruments of an ethical training. The apprehension of the unseen is the only known principle of subduing moral evil, educating the multitude and organising society. And whereas man is born for action, action flows not from inferences, but from

*J. H. Newman, "Discussions and Arguments," London. Longman's, 1897, pp. 254 (Letters on the Tamworth Reading Room, 1841). Quoted by Sir Michael Sadler.

impressions—not from reasonings, but from Faith."

That was written eighty years ago. It is in the best tradition of the Catholic Church, whose ministers had educated mediæval Europe for a thousand years. But Newman's resounding periods are no mere echo of the middle ages. His voice of thunder utters the conclusions of modern thought. How truly it does so, will appear if we look at the matter from another angle.

If education, properly handled, might be so powerful for good, education is our best hope for the reconstruction of our world that has so narrowly escaped being destroyed by man. But if we want to make a better world, we must, first of all, have a plan. So, to begin with, we may follow Plato, constructing in imagination an ideal world, an ideal Commonwealth. Then we have to ask ourselves " What sort of world do we want ? What sort of men and women do we want ? What sort of minds do we want them to have ? What do we want them to think, and so to do ? " For, after all, it is by their fruits that we know them ; it is their actions that characterize them, that determine their characters.

I have attempted elsewhere* to answer these questions. The following summary of the conclusions reached, must be brief and must make some sacrifice of precision in order to avoid esoteric, technical and unfamiliar language.

As time goes on, a man's ideas tend to group themselves into connected systems, or interests ; these interests—groups of connected ideas—largely determine how he behaves. And, in these interests, it is the ideas that deeply stir emotions that have the strongest influence upon thought and conduct ; so

*Garnett : *Education and World Citizenship.*

that these emotional ideas tend to occupy central positions in the groups of connected ideas I have called interests. There is one other kind of ideas that have a specially strong influence upon thought and conduct : those, in fact, that constitute our purposes and ideals. We can have no strong interest without having some purpose at the heart of it ; every interest tends to be focussed in a purpose. If, for example, my interest is in stamp collecting, it is likely to be centred in a purpose to make the best possible collection of stamps. If my interest is in motor cycling, it is likely to be centred in a purpose to obtain such and such a kind of motor-cycle, or to spend my next holiday on such and such a motor-cycling tour. Indeed, no man can have any great interest that does not tend to be focussed in some strong purpose with which his idea of himself is closely connected. And so, as our interests grow, every one of them tends to be centred in ideas that deeply stir emotions and in ideas that form purposes. Or, more shortly, all men's ideas tend to be grouped in interests each of which is focussed in a purpose that deeply stirs his emotions.

Observe that the ideal citizen of our Commonwealth must have a single wide interest rather than many separate disconnected interests. And this single wide interest is not merely to connect together all his ideas, all his experiences, and all his feelings, but it is to marshal them, introducing a simple and effective order among them.

The first reason why the citizen of our ideal Commonwealth must have a single wide interest rather than many incoherent and conflicting interests that resemble the newspage of a penny picture paper, is that a single wide interest prevents conflict in his own mind. If I have many, or even two, quite separate

interests, each focussed in a purpose, I am always liable to be troubled whether to act in pursuance of the one purpose or of the other : one purpose may, for example, be concerned with a high ideal, while the other is the result of some low propensity. These two purposes are in conflict in my mind. They result in hesitation, inconsistency, and inefficiency. If they continue to grow separately and are not brought together, co-ordinated and made one, they may ultimately drive me into an asylum ; for mental conflict is a frequent cause of insanity.

The second reason why the ideal individual must have a single wide interest is that only then can he reason economically and effectively, since then only will he have all his ideas marshalled. He will be able to get quickly from any part of his mind to any other.

There was no single wide interest in the mind of the child who thought that the answer to the question, " Who is the wisest man that ever lived ? " was Solomon or Solon according as the question was asked before or after half-past nine, when religious instruction ended. A clergyman I once met had no more single wide interest than this child, for he told us that, being interested in geology as well as in theology, he had lately met a little girl carrying a fine fossil. So he asked the child when she thought her fossil was made. " About the Creation, I should think," was the answer. And he replied, " Nonsense, child, a long time before that ! " For he regarded the Creation as having taken place in 4004 B.C., while he knew that the fossil must have been formed hundreds of thousands of years ago. If ever this clergyman's two rival interests do get up against one another, is there not a great likelihood of the break up of all the work to which he has been giving his life ? In any

case, his reasoning powers are obviously impaired by the incoherence of his interests.

Indeed, for consistent and effective conduct, as well as for economical and successful reasoning, one must have a single wide interest ; one must see the world single and must see it whole. What I have said* of each small interest is still more true of this single wide interest : *it must be centred in a supreme and dominant purpose that deeply stirs our emotions.* Indeed, whoever possesses a single wide interest rather than several separate interests will inevitably find that his single wide interest will be dominated by a purpose, and that this dominant purpose will deeply stir his emotions. So the ideal individual must possess a single wide interest : he must have a unity of knowledge and feeling, a perfectly integrated mind.

We note in passing that, whenever I have a purpose to do anything, I think of myself in connection with that thing. My ideas of myself are always closely connected with my ideas of my purposes, and if I possess a single wide interest dominated by a central purpose, it is likely that ideas of myself will be near the centre of my interest in the universe.

I have now to speak no longer of an isolated individual, of a Robinson Crusoe, but of the typical citizen of our ideal republic or Commonwealth. If that community is to be as consistent and effective as possible, and, therefore, to make as much progress as possible, the first condition that has to be satisfied is that the central purposes of its citizens must be in harmony with one another ; that makes for freedom throughout the community. If what I want to do is also what my neighbours want me to do in the interests of all of us, then I am free to do what

* pp. 143, 144.

I want to do ; and only so am I free. The only way to freedom is through harmony of central purpose.

Secondly the supreme purpose of every member of our ideal Commonwealth must be centred, not only in himself, but in all his neighbours. Imagine a very small community of explorers going out to discover the South Pole. They are all dominated by their common purpose to get to the Pole, and during part of every day, when they are actually on the march, that purpose does preserve harmony of action between them : they are acting together effectively and consistently. But a great part of every day is spent in cooking and washing up and other humdrum duties ; and, if each explorer thinks of himself as the most important member of the group, there will be continual conflict over these minor matters, even though there is harmony over the main enterprise. The success of the expedition may even be endangered by this inevitable quarrelling and rivalry, unless every explorer thinks of his neighbours as no less important than himself for the fulfilment of this supreme purpose.

If each of our ideal citizens thinks of his neighbours as at least equally important with himself, he will treat them with justice. In other words, if some idea of all his neighbours is at least as near the centre of his single wide interest as the ideas of himself that are bound up with his central purpose, then he will treat his neighbours with justice. If some idea of all his neighbours is near the centre of the interest of every citizen, justice as well as freedom will prevail in our Commonwealth.

And, thirdly, a word must be said about the emotion-ideas that are also central in the single wide interest of each citizen. Professor McDougal, of Har-

vard, has attempted to analyse emotions, breaking them up into constituent elements. If we look at the elementary emotions of which McDougal writes, we observe that only one of them can be the principal element in the emotion that is stirred by the idea lying near the centre of the single wide interest of the typical citizen of our ideal community. That elementary emotion, McDougal calls "tender emotion." The New Testament calls it *Agape*. It is translated "love," or "charity," but most of us to-day would probably speak of it as the emotion of friendship. Thus the three conditions that must be satisfied by the single wide interests of all the members of our ideal community are :—

Firstly—Harmony of central purpose; and so we get freedom.

Secondly—A man's ideas of himself must not be more central in his single wide interest than his ideas of his neighbours; and so we get justice.

Thirdly—The central emotional element at the heart of the interest must be *Agape*, or love; and so we get friendliness and kindness.

Now, the single wide interest that I have been speaking about is a single wide interest in the real world of experience. The citizens of our ideal community are not to live in a world of dreams, any more than we are. They and we have to live in a real world. It will be of little use for the citizens of our Commonwealth to obtain freedom and justice and friendliness at the cost of truth. For we cannot survive if we think of the world as very different from what the world is. If I assume that a public hall is a swimming bath and dive from the roof, my dive will probably end my life. We must think

of the world substantially as it is or perish. We have to face the question whether the world of experience really is such that a single wide interest, a perfectly integrated mind, may correspond to it.

Now it is quite true, that when you examine any part of the world its disorderliness strikes you first. As you examine it more closely and more scientifically, and think deeply into the matter, your science and your thought organise the world of your experience. The chemists had organized one great part of the world. The physicists had organised another part of the world of your experience. Then came the discoveries of Thomson, Rutherford and Soddy, and physics and chemistry were made into one science from that time onwards. And as science goes on from year to year, from age to age, that is happening all the time. The world of experience is being made into one, and Professor Whitehead tells us that the goal of scientific thought is a neat, trim, tidy, exact world. So far then as we can tell, the world of experience really is such that a single wide interest, a perfectly integrated mind, may correspond to it.

How does this thought-organization proceed? By hypothesis and experiment. If you want to link two separate sciences to one another you make an assumption; from it you make deductions. You test those deductions by experiment, and if your experiments show that your deductions fit your experience of the real world, then you say your hypothesis or assumption is as true as anything you know about the physical world. That is the way in which the goal of scientific thought is being gradually approached.

The goal of scientific thought is not yet reached.

Science has not yet unified the whole world. It is unifying it more and more from year to year, but has not completed the unification yet. If this goal is to be reached, *we* are not to wait and see. We are ourselves to assume a hypothesis about the central truths of the universe and are ourselves to test it by our own experience and so to approach the centre in exactly the same way in which the men of science are getting nearer and nearer the centre in their work in the laboratories and studies. Now if the world of experience really is such that the kind of single wide interest that I have been describing may perfectly correspond to it, then there are certain conditions which this hypothesis fails to satisfy.

First of all, the hypothesis concerning the central truths of the universe that forms the central part of each citizen's single wide interest must be acted upon and so be tested by experience. Now action on a hypothesis with a view to verifying it seems to me to be the very essence of *faith*: I cannot see that there can be faith without action. The passive acceptance of unverified dogma is not faith at all, but credulity.

Secondly, this hypothesis about the central truths of the universe, just because it forms the central portion of a single wide interest, is much concerned with purpose, and so with the future. Moreover, the ideas that form the central part of our ideal citizen's interest deeply stir his emotions, so that he must take an emotional interest in the future. And his emotional feelings must be feelings of satisfaction rather than the reverse: no one can strive for the fulfilment of a purpose if its fulfilment will not bring him satisfaction. But anticipated satisfaction is nothing less than *hope*.

Thirdly, we have already seen that the emotion that is stirred by the central elements of our ideal citizen's single wide interest should be *Agape*, love, friendship, more than any other primary emotion.

The fourth condition that his central hypothesis has to satisfy is that some essence of humanity, some idea of all his neighbours near and far, must be very near the centre of his interest ; for only so will our citizen ensure that his ideas of himself are not more central in his scheme of things than are his ideas of other people.

These are conditions which his assumption about the central undiscovered truths of the universe has to satisfy ; and I remark parenthetically, that the Christian hypothesis seems to me to fulfil them all. For, in the first place, according to the Christian hypothesis, God is the centre of the universe and knowledge of God begins by *faith*. The Christian hypothesis further maintains that *hope* of eternal life belongs to those who seek to know God ; that *love* is the very essence of God ; and that all human beings are in the same peculiarly close relation to God, and so to the central essence of the universe.

But our ideal citizen's experience, as it develops, will doubtless lead to modifications of any unessential assumptions that he may include in his first approximation. His religion will thus be sure to differ in some respects from that of everybody else. Indeed, it must, if it be a living faith, grow from day to day, and from hour to hour. But its experimental character must not be overlooked. "Religion is not theology nor yet ethics ; it is personal and experimental."*

My own conclusion is that every member of our

* Stanley Hall : *Adolescence*.

ideal Commonwealth (which is to make as rapid progress as possible, because all its members co-operate effectively for the fulfilment of a common central purpose) should begin with the Christian hypothesis. And, since no society can be as progressive as possible if its freedom to fulfil its common purpose is liable to interference from rival societies outside it, a maximally progressive society is one that includes the whole human race. Indeed, it is only if the education of every one, the world over, is centred in a common purpose, rhat the purposes of different men and women will be in harmony one with another. Only so, as we have already observed, will all mankind be free to pursue their own purposes in life. So it seems to me that it is the main business of all education to form in the mind of every person a single wide interest, centred in a supreme purpose, and especially to form that central purpose, to kindle the undying fire, to inspire with the spirit of the Lord; for "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

And it is the subordinate business of education to train young people so that they will be able to realise their central purpose in some particular form of service to their fellows. For example, the particular form of service for which technical and commercial education prepares is that of providing the material without which no community—so different in this respect from an individual—can make much progress towards the fulfilment of high spiritual purposes. For without material wealth a society cannot support the discoverers, the seers, the thinkers, prophets, and (as Sir Eric Geddes' Report has just reminded us) the teachers, on whom it must so largely depend for all that matters most.

Moreover, if I am right in believing that general ability can be increased by practice in concentrating attention, the business of education should be so conducted as to provide a strenuous intellectul discipline that will cultivate ability.

If the aim of a system of education—whether world-wide, or in a single State, or merely in a particular province—ought to be such as we have described, how far would it be true to say that this aim is shared by all State-aided schools in England to-day? Is not rather aimlessness the most obvious characteristic of English education at the present time?* The fact appears to be, not merely that most schools do not pursue the aim that we have indicated, but even that many schools pursue widely different aims, and some, perhaps, no intelligible aim at all. And yet signs of a renaissance of Christian education can already be discerned. In spite of the strictures of Mr. Lytton Strachey, Dr. Arnold's ideal of producing Christian gentlemen is still the aim of many "public schools" and of the private schools that prepare for them. What is true of some of our oldest schools would seem to be coming true (thanks very largely to the Student Christian Movement) of our modern Universities. The Vice-Chancellor of one of them has lately said that "Education in its wider sense is impoverished unless it has the directive guidance of religion and its help in discriminating between the worthy and the less worthy ideals of life. Life may become

*Cf. Dr. Lyttelton, when Headmaster to Eton: "If Louvain, Rheims, etc., are the outcome of falsehoods thoroughly taught, what might be the power of truth taught with equal thoroughness? So we turn to look within (at education in England) and find instead of thoroughness, divergence of aim, instead of concentration a vast unwillingness to make clear to ourselves what we are trying to do."—*The Times* Educational Supplement, 1st August, 1916.

brutish and bleak without religion. And what is true of life is true also of education, because education is the accompaniment of life as well as a preparation for it."

We may well wonder whether Sir Eric Geddes' Committee would have been so ready to recommend a reduction in public education had this Christian aim been universal, or at least usual, in English schools. But we may be sure that there is one aspect of the prevalent aimlessness that cannot fail to have impressed any committee of business men. Instead of making a joint effort to produce good citizens—Christian men and women in all the manifold variety that is necessary if they are to co-operate effectively in the service of God and of their fellow men—the schools and colleges have too often been content to impart knowledge, as accurately and as effectively as possible, but without regard to the use which the pupils and students are likely to make of it. The result has been an orgy of waste. Let us glance at some of its worst aspects.

Discontinuity is one of them. Children between twelve and fourteen years of age who remain in attendance at public elementary schools after the abler children have been selected and transferred to secondary schools will, with very few exceptions, be entering employment within two years at most; but their school studies are seldom affected by the need for continuity between whole-time school on the one hand, and whole-time employment supplemented by part-time classes on the other. Instead of being centred in (but not of course confined to) handwork, and so having much in common with the training of boy-scouts, and girl guides, the last two years of compulsory attendance at the primary

school are often given to studies that would be more suitable for able children whose whole-time secondary education was to be prolonged for several years. So too the education given in many modern secondary schools to boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age does not differ, according as the pupils are to remain at school for more advanced studies up to the age of eighteen on the one hand, or, on the other, are to enter whole-time employment at sixteen. Once more, sixth-form pupils, between sixteen and eighteen, are commonly expected to pursue similar studies whether they are being prepared to carry those studies further in a University or whether they are finishing off their whole education with a view to beginning their life work in works or office or at home. Disregard of the need for continuity in education thus results in large numbers of boys and girls acquiring masses of abstract ideas to which their subsequent experience will never connect a large body of illustrative facts that will give life and meaning to the abstractions. Nothing is more deadening or more wasteful. Education with inert ideas is not only useless, it is above all things harmful : *corruptio optimi, pessima.* On the other hand, the right kind of abstract study during whole-time education unifies the miscellaneous experience of later life and makes it usable ; it co-ordinates masses of practical details by exhibiting them as particular cases of a few underlying principles. The prevalent discontinuity in education is largely due to forgetting that there are two quite different ways in which a subject should be studied according to the use that is to be made of it ; or, rather, according as the study is to be pursued for many years to come until the student attains the status of an expert, or else is

shortly to be abandoned, the student being content to possess an amateur's acquaintance with it.

Another source of waste, especially in some secondary schools and in " ordinary " degree courses in some Universities, is the neglect to provide a strenuous intellectual discipline. If there is any way of increasing general ability, it is by practice in hard thinking, in concentrating attention. And yet the primrose path is favoured ; and new subjects are begun that will never be carried far enough to demand real intellectual effort, or even to furnish a useful tool.

Worse than any other is perhaps the waste that results, especially in the lower and middle forms of secondary schools, when subjects are sharply separated and taught out of all relation to one another by expert but independent teachers. This practice has become well nigh universal in the newest secondary schools, and it seems to be spreading to schools of older foundation where a more coherent curriculum used to be provided. Some sacrifice in the quantity and accuracy of the information imparted under the more recent plan would be a small price to pay for the advantages that follow when the younger pupils in a secondary school spend half their time or more with the same form-master or mistress, between whom and the pupils close personal relations are then likely to develop. Then also the knowledge imparted by the form-master is immediately connected to wide and deep interests in the pupil's mind, and each pupil tends to acquire a single wide interest like that of his master and like him, to see life steadily and to see it whole.

Still another piece of wastefulness has been receiving attention for some time, and a good deal

has been done to remedy it. There is, however, very much more to do before equality of opportunity for children of equal ability becomes an established fact in our state-aided schools. Many of these schools are filled by pupils of inferior ability, just because their parents can better afford the fees, or because they happen to live in a more highly favoured county or county borough. If the best use is to be made of the limited educational resources of this country, national provision must be made for the systematic selection of children and young people on account of their personal qualities alone (and irrespective of their place of residence or their parents' income) to receive, so far as may be necessary at the public expense, whatever type of education will best fit them to serve their fellows and the community. To this end scholarships and maintenance allowances must be forthcoming in all parts of the country: it must no longer be open to one local education authority to make secondary and university education many times more difficult of attainment in its area than on the other side of the street that separates it from its neighbours. The establishment of a national scholarship system, with maintenance allowances where necessary, can hardly be effected unless some of the powers at present possessed by smaller education authorities—some of whom actually refuse to provide any university scholarships at all or to contribute in any other way to the cost of university education—are transferred to larger bodies, one for each of some eight or ten "provinces" of England and Wales. Such provincial authorities might well be representative of existing local education authorities as well as of the Universities and the teaching profession. Their establishment would be

a long step towards removing present barriers and opening up a broad highway of education.

Any attempt to eliminate these sources of waste from English education must be fraught with grave peril. It is not to be burked on that account. The danger must be faced frankly and fearlessly. The danger is that, in attempting to establish a national system of education, democratic and continuous, efficient, economical and free from waste, too much attention may be paid to mere machinery of codes and subsidies ; that there may be too much of bureaucratic control and too little of freedom, variety and elasticity ; above all, that uniformity of curriculum and technique may take the place of ardent spiritual unity and a common supreme purpose. To avoid, or at least to counteract, this danger we may well continue, as Sir Michael Sadler has put it, " to allow a certain variety in our educational influences and institutions, in order that temporarily unpopular or temporarily undervalued ways of life may still have shelter in some corners of our national education." In particular, we may do well to encourage private enterprise and religious enthusiasm to supplement the public provision for education, to make experiments, to meet exceptional demands, and especially to supply more precisely formulated religious teaching than would otherwise be available, even when the world-wide Renaissance of Education has brought about an international system of Christian Education.

MY AFFIRMATIONS.

"Truth is authority: to be sincere is the only way to be persuasive in the long run."

"WHAT do I know?" That was the question which Montaigne, the French egoist *par excellence*, put to his own mind. If we lay stress on the verb, we enquire about the objects or contents of knowledge; if on the pronoun, we contemplate the subject. We cannot know that which is not in some way real; and if real, it is true; and truth is the coincidence of subject and object in a genuine relation. But when I say with Montaigne or Descartes, "I am," these terms—thought and thing—are inseparable, evident, and primary. For I can only prove that I think and exist by stating the fact to myself; which proof is at once an affirmation and a witness in virtue of its presence to my consciousness; or more simply still, to me. Whatever I know, in it I must needs be given. I am as real as I am ideal; and from this twofold experience the order of being and the order of knowing cannot but take their start in each of us.

When I was young a certain shyness compelled me to write anonymously, to speak as only the mouthpiece of better and holier men, to give whatever I thought an air of quotation. It is possible, I see now, to overdo modesty. My thoughts are my own, why not say so? The Great Shadow striding towards me, in which I shall soon be lost, makes me bold. After all, it is the naked spirit which signifies; not

any chair, cloak, title, degree, office—everyone of them created by viewless mind. Truth is authority; to be sincere is the only way to be persuasive in the long run. Should my thoughts not reflect that which is, they will shimmer a moment, pass, and be forgotten. We are what we are; we shall be what we shall be; why then prefer imagination to truth?

Were I permitted hereafter a re-incarnation as our Eastern friends dream, I would be a chemist and biologist. Even now, these pursuits, read of rather than practised, fill me with delight. I cannot learn too much about them. My three years' attendance at lectures on Chemistry in English and Roman Schools have left in remembrance a charm beyond words. Shall I confess it? When ethical philosophers and speculative divines irritate but do not satisfy my reason, a treatise on physics or astronomy will bring back the sure conviction of an intelligible, coherent world which these good men have troubled. I am not blaming them; I state a fact, not perhaps a wholly insignificant fact; the abstruse pages of God's writing I may be unable to decipher; but in such elementary studies I learn its alphabet.

Can I help the modern man as well as myself by printing here in plainest language the convictions which, during a life exceeding the threescore years and ten of the Psalmist, have always appeared to me certain beyond controversy? Perhaps it may seem just clerical rhetoric—this creed of mine. But every earnest thinker who writes or speaks will follow his own fashion. Those are often the most unreal who grind out systems, like Swift's logic-machine, behind which no living soul is discoverable. Whatever I submit to the reader's judgment shall not be offered at secondhand. On it I am ready to stake all that I

possess—myself—this being that is I, with all its possibilities, now and hereafter. What more can I do ?

There is a " riddle of the Universe," says the modern man after Haeckel, but between jest and earnest, thereby giving me to understand that he has done with its problems. " A riddle ? " I answer, " yes, and it is you that live in the heart of it, saddening me to perplexity when I look on at your adventures. You are often a brave piece of Nature's handiwork, not inferior to the sculptured Greek from the age of Olympian wrestling ; and your penetrating sagacity, your inventive genius, your subtlety of touch, your good hap with resources from machines to manuscripts, your discoveries at Nippur, Susa, in Darkest Africa, your courage in face of your own death-dealing weapons and combinations, fill me with amazement. You are not ill-natured ; since in Greek and Latin you cultivate " philanthropy " and " humanity " like Prometheus, but on how much more splendid a scale ! Ought I not to sing your praises ?

Yet hearken to the devil's advocate, who in a vision was standing at my bedside last night. These words I fixed in memory while he spoke or snarled them. " The modern man ? " he burst forth, " frivolous, sensual, bent on money and excitement, a bundle of nerves ; do you call him Prometheus ? Let his own diary, the newspapers, show him that figure of luxury, lust and decadence which he has become. He is lord of all things except himself. Rich from every mine beneath the moon ; and he starves his children by the ten thousand—see the reports on both sides of the Atlantic—never were boys and girls worse tortured by the industrial system than now in democratic America. He is deliberately breaking up the home.

Overcrowding, with its child-murders, incest, bestial conditions of human life defiles his great cities from London and Glasgow to Chicago, to Sydney and Melbourne. The world-industry means world-wide prostitution ; and your modern man knows it. Commerce is gambling ; sport is betting ; " society " means bridge ; marriage runs into divorce and calls on the Church to consecrate race-suicide. Women are strangely, hideously unsexed. They swallow drugs for intoxication, have taken to the vices of their partners, gamble freely, read and write shameful books, refuse to be wedded mothers, corrupt the young by their example, fall a prey in growing numbers to insanity. Systematic violation of the highest duties is becoming the order of the day and poisoning life at its source. The Registrar-General's tables prove this indictment by facts and figures, more dreadful than the writing on the wall in old time. Religion, of course, is dying. Its ideals are scoffed at ; its commandments broken without remorse. Remorse, indeed, has lost its motive and therefore its meaning. The man of to-day has learned a fatal art, by which he degrades every science to physics, while in physics he finds an apology for descending below the brute. In his fall he has dragged down woman. It is Adam who tempts Eve to eat of the Tree of Knowledge, which is to both the Tree of Death. A guilty, shameless pair, whose generation will not live long in the land."

There was more, with particulars into which I dare not travel. The vision, or nightmare, ceased. I began to argue with its conclusions. Must we not distinguish in our " modern man " I asked of myself, a variety of types—world within world—a struggle between good and evil—such as at all moments history

proclaims ? Decadence ? yes ; but progress notwithstanding. That fine ill-used word " Humanity," *reine Menschlichkeit,* makes music in my ear. Should I be willing to choose any other time at which to view cho procession of mankind or to mingle in it ? Then of what do I complain ? O, my brave, wise, daring, yet not altogether edifying contemporary, let me answer in the lines of Mephisto, which we have learnt by heart, but I give an English rendering :

> He who would know and treat of aught alive,
> Seeks first the living Spirit thence to drive ;
> Then are the lifeless fragments in his hand,
> There only fails, alas, the spirit-band.
> This process chemists name in learned thesis,
> Mocking themselves, *Naturæ encheiresis.*

The " apt questioning of Nature," Bacon had said. With a touch of scorn, Carlyle renders it, " victorious analysis." Better still (and worse in the consequences) we may engrave on the door of this laboratory " vivisection." Through it passes the human soul alive, heroic in its beliefs and its hopes, beautiful in promise and power, with love, poetry, morality, religion for its inheritance—eternal youth ! So the man goes in ; he is laid on the dissecting table ; and you, my Brother, fresh from your triumphs over dead or passive elements, take knife in hand ! You will cut from that heart, as would a Mexican priest of old, the secret of secrets, and hold it up bleeding to the sun. Vain sacrifice ! You can slay ; can you make alive ? When the crowd at your door clamour to be shown the demonstration, you bring forth a corpse. Love, poetry, morality, you tell the gaping multitude, were only this—an affair of red and white specks in the blood, of grey tissue in the brain ; but if you could create one little bit of live protoplasm you would

reproduce all these miracles. Now—there is the slashed and hacked butcher's meat for a cannibal feast where man feeds on man. Such is your "questioning of Nature."

This Gospel of Death smells to heaven; it infects the whole air. On your dissecting table humanity dies. Nothing whatever that had significance matters any more. Electrons combine, dissolve, dance their cosmic round; they are but motes in a sunbeam and glittering dust. Vice means as little as virtue, for meaning in aught we do there is none Our deepest reality, the Ego, has been found out and is the merest fiction. We end in a paradox; Mind is the result of Matter; but Matter is the projection of Mind. Herbert Spencer was staggered on hearing it; "if Idealism be true," he exclaimed, "Science is a dream." But I answer that we could work out a noble destiny though "Science" had never been cultivated. On the other hand, destroy man's faith in *Himself* and a moral chaos yawns under our feet. Metaphysics, you tell me, were physics in disguise; ideals but the masks that electrons put on. Note the consequences even at this early stage, when a whisper only of your gospel is flying upon the wind. Man sickens and woman takes the infection. Self-control ceases to have ground or justification, at least when the sum of pain felt or anticipated outweighs the sum of pleasure. There is but one law, expressed in a parody on Holy Scripture by Renan, "*En vérité, en vérité, je vous le dis, amusez-vous!*" Science, in this shape, has turned buffoon, guide of unseemly revels, acquainted with Cagliostro; it becomes a witch-wife or a modern Locusta for smart society, whose deeds justice itself dare not search into with open doors.

I do not charge these crimes upon the balance, the

scalpel, or the medicinal drugs ; but they spring direct from a false interpretation of Nature, and this from a method wrongly applied. Having driven life out of our premises we find only death in our conclusions. It is a murderous logic, but inevitable after the knife has dealt its blow. The " spirit-band " is loosened ; society falls to pieces ; the " will to live " declines on base impulse and runs headlong down. " Children," cries the dead Christ in Richter's apocalypse, " ye have no longer a Father ! " That is the message flung at the shivering crowd, not in Christ's accents of pity, but from the vivisectors' hell. Do I take it as the last word of science ? God and man forbid !

No, it is the reduction to the absurd of a method which poets and scientific men like Goethe judged by their own vital experience to be for ever inadequate. Death cannot measure life ; the spirit is more than mechanism. When Spencer declared the ultimate facts unknowable and questions touching them insoluble, what he accomplished was really this—he warned " analysis " to stay within its bounds, to deny not that which it was unable to affirm. He left possible a Universe which other methods might explore, " Inductive " methods—mark you that—but which would take into account the whole of human experience and question Nature within us, even as Bacon would cross-examine Nature without. The spirit should be at once examiner, witness, judge. For what is any science but the product of man's observing and reasoning powers ? Let him, then, do the work thoroughly. Observation shall be as extensive as the phenomena. We will not, in summing up evidence, leave out the witness who is its chief part.

If I have said that you, my brother man, are

the Riddle of the Universe, I maintain no less confidently that you are likewise the answer to it. Your imperfect and truncated philosophy is ending in race suicide. But for a long hundred years it has done its best to persuade the Ego that he is an algebraic series summed up in an abstract X ; a chimera which religion has invented for purposes of exploitation ; a negligible quantity when we are seeking the truth ; and—if not guarded against by exclusion from our arguments—the source of all errors. Now, Matter is certainly a foolish explanation of Mind ; and so the great philosophers agree. But how shall we speak of a system which accounts for thought by eliminating the thinker ? Do you perceive at last where race suicide begins ? No damnable error but takes to earth in a theory when we hunt it down. Disciples aware or unaware of what the Master taught, but ruled by the *Zeitgeist*, reduce his principles to practice. Thus our formidable negative science is breeding a civilisation in its own image—a Frankenstein monster minus a soul. We hear and see the portent as he storms along in his motor-car, excited, erotic, drunk with the wind of his own speed, growing less and less human every mile he rushes onward. Unbelieving science has created this anarchist. Read his formula in Bakunin or Nietzsche.

He is the product of chemistry, physiology, and mechanics, which never did possess the secret of life, but have usurped its functions. As thus, for example. Lying in front of me are Shakespeare's plays. Their greatness of style, profound insight, and other sovereign qualities of a mind without parallel, I cannot but acknowledge to myself. Nevertheless, to account for all that, I will omit the man Shakespeare, and to a lucky rencontre of paper, type

and ink with a printing machine, I will attribute "King Lear," "Othello," and the rest, as having come about in the course of Nature. When it is objected, "No Shakespeare, no Plays," I answer according to negative and triumphant science, "this volume consists of paper to which ink has been applied by a machine. Show me anything else in it but ink and paper. You cannot? Why, then, your Shakespeare is a fiction; and I have no need of that hypothesis."

Thus, wherever *l'homme-machine* takes the place in philosophy which belongs of right to the Immortal Spirit clothed in a garment of time, we behold strange tragi-comedies. Moral values sink; impulse refuses to wait for law; anarchy sets in. Who will deny that such a dissolution threatens not only the Churches, but home life, public and private business, the school as certainly as the market, and the State itself and Civilisation? Hitherto the State has been established on a conception of law in which the person of every man was held sacred because essentially unique and indivisible. But the man-machine is neither unique nor sacred; he is nothing more than a highly complex chemical mixture with reactions to stimulus —"I die pronouncing it," for such a word is a blasphemy on our true self. Let us, at all events, be candid. The science we are reviewing does assign man, all that he is or will be, to "Carbon and Company" as his sole manufacturers. His formula should be found in organic chemistry, a little way beyond the ethyls and methyls. Do the elements of Renaissance lie therein? Is Renaissance possible? But if that is not all, if he is more than such a compound, what is he? That is the question. So I come back to my starting point.

Thought is primary, and the true Great Postulate, as for science, so for life. Bishop Berkeley, most ingenious and seductive of writers on first principles, the Irish Plato, found in the universe nothing but Mind. The visible frame of things was its hieroglyphic signature, arising at the tangent where one spirit-circle meets another. This doctrine, highly attractive to poets, resolves matter into a dream. But I need not hold it ; neither will I draw from the negation of such Idealists as Berkeley proof or instance for my reasoning. I start from Huxley's admission when he tells us that " whatever may, or may not, exist in the thing termed matter, force, substance, all that we can know of these qualities is a state of consciousness. What we call extension is a consciousness of a relation between two or more affections of the sense of sight or of touch. And it is wholly inconceivable that what we call extension should exist independently of such consciousness as our own." Ponder these remarkable words. They will lead us far. No mind, no extension ; or no thought, no universe. If the world exists, thought exists. It is a law of our being from which we cannot escape to construe reality by terms of thought. Apart from such thought matter loses all its predicates and science its subject. Did then extension, force, electrons, elements, begin to be when our consciousness began ? And if not, to whose consciousness were they present ? Mind is the eternal ether in which all things real are bathed. It is the light which we are seeking. Without it nothing ever was or can be. Once more, with Huxley, " I am utterly incapable of conceiving the existence of matter if there is no mind in which to picture that existence."

Something else follows. Matter not being inde-

pendent of thought, suppose the last human thinker dead, will the extended, visible, palpable, weighable, universe which science deals with, perish in the same moment ? How grotesque the notion ! Yet one of two alternatives. Either all we experience of material reality hangs on this Damocles' hair—which seems absurd—or thought other than human is its guarantee and upholds it. Manifestly, I am not appealing to any religious creed, neither to Revelation, nor to tradition, when I argue thus. Shall I be " fobbed off " with a cry of the unknowable ? But is it unknown to science that our planet went through phases lasting millions of years before man's mind emerged upon it ? As pre-human astronomy, geology, world-building inevitable fictions which the imagination conjures up as it turns its gaze on " the dark backward and abysm of time ? " Then time itself would be likewise imaginary ; the unknowable would cover all but our little span, our arc of light a few inches round, amid infinite darkness. Methinks I hear science protesting on behalf of sidereal systems wide-sown through space, ancient beyond our reckoning, to which the solar scheme we move in is a point without dimensions. I am bound, therefore, to drive home the Huxleyan logic. I cannot conceive the existence of galaxies and nebulas pre-human, preter-human, in all their immeasurable extent, if there was no mind in which to picture them. The science which affirms their enormous age implies a thought co-existent then as now with all the worlds ; not their result, but their explanation.

To me it seems that in upholding the claim of thought—or call it Reason, if you prefer to translate the Greek or German—as the supreme court of appeal with universal jurisdiction, I am showing how science

is founded on an adamantine basis. When I affirm thought I declare the universe to be intelligible. The world is at home in us, for Reason is at home in things. Our sciences are not cunningly-devised fables ; they are keys which unlock real and rational energies the laws of which give satisfaction to our minds all the more as we grasp them more closely and learn their significance. But it is not we that have put Reason into reality or invented the Cosmos. To quote the magnificent example, Kepler did but discover his laws of planetary motion, which had been in force during untold milleniums, waiting to be read by a human eye. All science is discovery. But it is also the mind's affirmation. Subject and object interpenetrate in one formula, which is knowledge exhibiting fact. My Realism, then, does not rest on assumptions, or flicker a moment to fall into the gulf of nescience. It is experimentally true, because the thought which lives in it is objectively valid. If I take to myself the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of which astronomers hold the record, even there shall I discover cosmos not chaos, and my spirit will not be an exile. For I shall perceive Reason there as here, and law ruling over space and time wherever they are given.

With science accordingly, so far as it affirms an intelligible whole of things, I am entirely at one. I do but ask its practitioners to bear in view that it depends, in its last analysis, on the structure and principles of their own intellect. Made up as it is of judgments, on the margin all along should be understood as if written, " I judge." What else devises experiments, cross-examines conclusions, registers effects, deduces laws, than the particular individual mind ? Science is a mental equation. But is my mind older

than myself? Talking as we do in the abstract, we overlook easily the constants which we should be weary of naming; and so we omit them. Great errors have sprung up from such mere forgetfulness. There is no such thing in our experience as impersonal thought.

When Kant criticizes Pure Reason, it is still Kant using his mind, memory and imagination, that argues. He has no secret whereby to escape from himself, or, as Goethe says, to leap off his own shadow. The critic dogmatizes, the denier affirms. Every nay carries yea in its bosom. For it must be subscribed "*Mihi videtur*": thus I feel, pronounce, insist on its being true, *i.e.*, real and certain. Kant in each of his sentences takes for granted that words have a meaning, that logic is valid, that axioms are indisputable, that he is not the sole intellect in creation, that contradictories are not both of them co-existent, that laws of thought are laws of things. I agree with Nietzsche when he observes that "there is something strange in requiring of an instrument to criticize its own excellence and validity (*'Trefflichkeit und Tauglichkeit'*) and of the intellect to prove (*erkennen*) its worth and power." Nor could it do so save by a fresh exercise of the power in question. Either we go back *ad infinitum* along this line, or we analyze mind into faculties which convince us that they are truthful and into grounds of knowledge self-evident. I leave the sceptic to his mental confusion; I accept the teachings of science, because they can be verified by first principles applied to experience.

That is my creed. I have always held it. I recognise no "surd" in the nature of things, no "Absolute" which is unintelligible to every possible mind, no contradiction which a fuller knowledge would not overcome. The nature of things is the reason of things

and reason is nature. If Nietzsche says once more, "Trust in Reason, with which the value of logical judgments stands and falls, is as trust a moral phenomenon," I point out that self-evidence comes before "trust," and that "I ought to believe" is a conclusion resting upon grounds. However, from a different angle of sight it will appear that this "moral phenomenon" plays no small part in life and science equally. But we must guard against setting the pyramid on its apex instead of its base. Trust is either an instinct or a deliberate act. The Reason we are contemplating sees its principles while it acts, and is no blindman's buff, staggering in the dark hither and thither. It moves on a clear assurance that reality can be understood. And every experiment confirms its belief. Problems are solved by sifting out absurd or contradictory hypotheses; in other words, by logic, or the principle of excluded middle. That is Reason in act. Science eliminates the irrational. Life is under this law.

Hope, then, and not despair, is the mood which science encourages. But it is hope in the powers of reason. Life is bound to triumph. When I look into the future, such is my faith, and I trust because I have seen. This universe—no chimera, but a majestic revelation of laws, submitting itself to enquiry which is ever disclosing new depths in the real and the intelligible—this world outside me, I say, answers to the world within. Their common centre is Mind. At that centre I take my stand by the side of him, who, as a genuine philosopher, more than twenty-three centuries ago, became the "spectator of all time and all existence." Plato saw the Cosmos in the light of the intellectual sun whose sacred name we dare not utter. He grasped the secret which has been made

known to all who are truly enlightened that Truth itself, Goodness, Beauty, Immortality, are not the dreams of a shade, but the sum and substance of Being established on that which is now and must for ever endure. I call this the creed of science. It reconciles the Seen with the Unseen ; it justifies Religion ; and it gives to Life its only rational meaning, a purpose and a goal by ethical right-conduct to be won.

To sum up : If we cannot explain—that is to say, harmonize with our own minds—the world's undoubted progress from possibility to fact unless we bring to bear upon it the notion of a purpose realized, in one word, of *design*, a formidable but encouraging conclusion follows. The Cosmos will then be nothing but a system of Thought manifested on every side to which we look. Thought is certainly at home in the universe. For it reads the intricacies of motion and finds them obedient to law. It records life's changes in the individual, the race, the species, and behold the movement is an evolution. It draws out a harmony, effected or pre-established, between muscles, nerves, senses, imagination, reason, will, and the external world, verified in countless millions of individuals. All this, I say, it refers to Law ; and Law is the intelligible expression of realities, acting upon one another in such wise that the mind contemplating them shall not be put to confusion, but shall anticipate their course and turn them to its own advantage.

Thus, then, mind in me reads in the world about my steps another and an endlessly greater Mind, objective as regards my own. Law expresses Thought, reveals the adaptation of energies one to another, proclaims purpose, invites co-operation, rewards effort. Law is Reason working outside of us ; not

our Reason, but antecedent, supreme, all-encompassing, vast as the system to which it gives order and consistency. The astronomer finds it in all space and all time; the philosopher in all being; the artist in all beauty; the moralist in all human action, even in that which seems to overthrow it; and the saint in the will of God.

Our thought, I conclude, is not solitary. We live, move and act in the presence of Thought—beyond man's and infinitely above it. Mind, reason, life, law, converge to one focus, which cannot be dead matter. So much does that knowledge we term science guarantee in every one of its formulas; and each discovery it makes should be reckoned among the *Cogitata et Visa* of a Supreme Intelligence. If reality had no beginning, there is Eternal Thought. But an absolute origin of all being *ex nihilo* is unthinkable. Mind, therefore, has always been. And it is the mind which affirms "I am." Thus do I reply to Montaigne's question, "What do I know?" I know myself and God, in whom is Life Everlasting.

NEW FACTORS AND OLD IN THE RENAISSANCE OF CIVILIZATION

The Renaissance of Human Values
Emeritus Chancellor Starr Jordan, M.D.

An Assessment of Womanhood
Mrs. St. Loe Strachey. O.B.E., J.P.

A Patriotic Fellowship
Lady Frances Balfour.

Personality in National Progress
Professor A. E. Zimmern, LL.D.

Towards Racial Renaissance
Professor J. Arthur Thomson. M.A., LL.D.

THE RENAISSANCE OF HUMAN VALUES

" Freedom has its roots within the human soul, and no outside power can take it away."

By the renaissance of human values is meant the restoration of things worth while as objects of man's aspirations. For in proportion to the place these hold in life is the value of life itself. When life is precarious, aspirations fail; and, conversely, with the failure of hope the reserves and restraints vital to character-building fail also. As a necessary result we have to-day in Europe the paradox of suffering and despairing humanity on the one hand and on the other a riot of reckless expenditure and of crazy joy.

The twentieth century began with a promise of progress in freedom, knowledge and personal happiness; all that makes life worth living. Its greatest hope lay in the maintenance and extension of human values, a wider and wider access to all that invigorates the individual man. " With health and a day " he could " put the pomp of emperors to shame." In this chapter I shall dwell somewhat on former conditions and, then again, on the catastrophe which threatened the engulfing of all individual hope, the subordination of all human aims to one single anti-social purpose. Finally, I shall try to draw such encouragement as I can concerning the restoration of society as it was and its relation to the better society that yet shall be.

Let us glance for the instant on the world of a decade ago. In London, during August, 1914, which I (unwitting of the ghastly years still to be endured) termed "the month of horrors." I used these words: "The time will come when Europe will look back on the opening years of the Twentieth Century as the 'Golden age' of her history." For in that and preceding decades of the growth of science, art, invention, education, and peace, unprecedented results had been obtained. It was far from a millenium, to be sure, but its movement was headed towards the idealist's dream. The spirit of man was justly filled with faith and hope. We had the beginning of a world society based on a degree of justice and humanity transcending the conception of previous ages; and better still, its trend was progressive, leading to more and more perfect co-operation and conciliation throughout the world.

Crudities and vested injustices might of course be found in abundance, for no perfect social system can be framed of imperfect units, nor can any generation escape the dead hands of the past, nor again would it gain in effectiveness if it could. Tradition as always, was powerful, but by no means wholly evil; advance must follow the trail of those who have gone before. In any civilization there remain evil and weaknesses to be eradicated—suspicion, distrust, secrecy, pomp, pageantry, caste, inherited abuses and vested wrongs, every defect of the individual man crystallized and confirmed by the power of majorities or by the inertia of tradition.

Notwithstanding all this, however, there were some who confidently maintained that "the millenium was on its way," as each succeeding year brought broader knowledge and deeper sympathies to the

expansion of human understanding and the alleviation of human distress. Yet because no period is free from unrest, in those days the framework of society was exposed to two main types of attack. On the one hand, it was met by the "divine discontent" of those impatient with all imperfection, but who yet would nevertheless hold fast to that which is good while at the same time reaching out toward better things. As already implied, in building for the future, in whatever field, we can throw away none of the work of our predecessors; at the most we must only prune it, even as the leaders of the past would have done had they been in our more fortunate position. The enlightened mind realizes that "Heaven is not reached by a single bound," and a static heaven is never reached at all. The future must build on the past. All that we have gained of freedom, order and justice has been won during the ages through the agony of good men and women.

There are others who now, as in all past times, would reform society only by destroying it. Such would cast aside every existing form of human association because each is permeated with evil. Out of a sanctified anarchy they plan to build a society without cruelty, greed or selfishness, and would join the cave-man in making a new start, though the same human frailities would in time bear the same fruit. A tree not perfectly erect they would dig up by the roots; to get rid of vermin they would burn the house.

Both types of unsurgence are essential to the movement of civilization, and neither can be put down with impunity. Lacking the first, society would sink into the ruts of imagined perfection, the self-

sufficiency of medievalism. A system so good that it needs no mending is already moribund—a fate which overtook Prussian "Kultur." Without the harsh upbraiding of the second we would not be forced to revise our estimates and to stand intelligently for all that is worth saving.

This we call the age of science, but in the large it is also an age of religion and the valuation and verification of human experience called science finds the course to its goal no easier than that trodden by "pure religion and undefiled." Such primacy as either has maintained has been won by a constant struggle against preconceived ideas in an atmosphere of intolerance. Truth is always disturbing. As Giordano Bruno asserted a thousand years ago :— "Ignorance is the most delightful science in the world because it is acquired without labour or pains and keeps the mind from melancholy."

In their time, men of science, even Bruno himself, were burned at the stake as freely as other prophets, heretics, or witches. For science and religion have the same aim—the emancipation of the human spirit and the effectiveness of human action. Each has borne through the ages its burden of superstition, prejudice and stupidity, and for neither is complete relief in sight. The problem is one of progressive mitigation, but "so long as Truth is in the field" she will render a good account of herself. "Old errors do not die because they are refuted; they fade away because they are neglected."*

Still the outlook was most encouraging. The surface of the globe was becoming fluid, movement of men and property from place to place being the commonest of daily experiences. The best offered

* Oliver Wendell Holmes.

anywhere in thought as well as in wares was open to whomsoever willed. Wealth of knowledge and products of commerce were alike accessible to all who sought them. Postal and telegraphic unions linked men and nations together. To any person anywhere on earth a message could be sent by post for a trifle, by electricity swifter than the earth's revolution, outstripping the sun itself. Commerce —unduly slandered under the name of greed— is a great educating as well as unifying influence. Unless substantially honourable and honest, trade cannot endure. Like a great river it purifies itself as it flows.

The financial system of the world depended on a common acceptance of the unit of exchange. Whatever our criticism of the fitness of gold to serve for this purpose, no one can question the baleful result of leaving this function unfulfilled. On personal confidence and the stability of the accepted unit rested the banking system of the world. Money could be transferred anywhere, in or from any country, in any one of a dozen ways. Travel was thus made convenient and safe. The Letter of Credit in all its forms was a wholesome illustration of world unity, a matter so familiar to every traveller that illustrations are commonplace. But the lessons behind stable medium of exchange and cosmopolitan confidence are none the less important and impressive.

In ways other than economic the world was in 1914 approaching a substantial millennial unity. Upwards of two hundred World Congresses—each the fruit of enthusiasm were held annually for the discussion or promotion of knowledge or of social reform. The mere record of these gatherings as contained in La Fontaine's *Annuaire de la Vie In-*

ternationale, regularly filled a large volume. Another year-book recorded the decisions of the Hague Court of International Justice, a triumph of individual idealism applied to social betterment.

The missionary spirit characteristic of the age carried the light of civilization into the darkest human recesses. Even Government, confessedly the most backward of human enterprises, because most detained by tradition and burdened with human facilities, was fast gaining in effectiveness by the suppression of force and the promotion of personal justice.

Science has always been a function of no one race or nation, each age lighting its torches from those who went before, each generation standing on the shoulders of its predecessors and peering onward into the future. Science is in fact the perfection of human altruism, continuously blazing new paths into the untrodden wilderness, always gazing deeper into the Unfathomed Universe. Moreover, it was becoming the guide to human conduct. For Ethics itself is an inductive science which through the ages has followed the time honoured method of Trial and Error. A common standard of right and wrong had accordingly got well on the way to acceptance. Wisdom, one product of science, is knowing what to do next, virtue is doing it, religion the inner motive which gives the reason why. Religion outgrowing its swaddling clothes was bringing leaders of thought and action into permanent accord. The supreme test of truth is lovableness, the degree in which we can trust our lives to it ; the supreme test of conduct lies in the degree to which it makes on the one hand for personal survival, on the other for abundance of life.

To these ends science made unstinted contribution. A sound mind requires a sound body. In a striking degree science has aided humanity in its "pursuit of happiness" by the stabilizing of health and life. "Life's great disappointments arise chiefly from two things, sickness and premature death." These were being reduced to lower and lower terms, for such was the constant aim of one of the most fruitful of its lines of research. "Life," says Dr. Homer Folks, of the American Red Cross, "was largely being made happier, longer and richer. The warfare against disease was civilization-wide. It was a slow fight and a long one, but it was winning." Forty years of advance in preventive sanitation had already added ten years to the average lifetime in America and Great Britain, and made life vastly more attractive and in the very near future would have increasingly lightened the black cloud of sickness and untimely death that for ages has kept the world in gloom.

The appreciation of the best in art, literature, music, painting—all that enriches the mind and spirit—was steadily growing and, still more important, spreading in broader and broader circles, piercing through barriers of caste, and becoming cosmopolitan and world-wide. More significant was the constant rise in human values, the sense of the world of the individual man. In the teachings of Jesus (to which the lords and masters of the world gave at least lip-service) nothing stands out more sharply than the recognition of the sacredness of the individual as distinguished from the institution. Personal right and personal duty had been through the ages submerged in service of the state. Against this condition the prophets ever made protest, each

in his own way. "After all," says Emerson, "nothing is sacred save the integrity of your own mind." From such source arises whatever is real in sainthood or worthy of martyrdom. Above "all rank and pomp," all caste and all ecclesiasticism Jesus "saw the man uprising." In spite of perversion and misconception, the spread of real Christianity, the religion of Jesus as distinguished from that of Constantine, marked the breaking of human fetters, the emancipation of the human soul.

Yet through all this time the intellectual life of the Continent was marked by a "drooping spirit." Its development went on under the shadow of the sword, behind the *fin-de-siecle ennui* of Paris, and of many of those manifestations described some years ago by Max Nordau as "Degeneration." Among enlightened spirits the fear prevailed that civilization was entering a blind alley, a *cul de sac*, where advance would end in blood! Someone compared society to a boat-load of merry-makers paralyzed by the sudden discovery that there was a "corpse on board." The orgy of Napoleon evoked a Bismarck; Jena demanded a Sedan; and Europe was filled with ghastly apprehension. In any case, the awful fact remains that despite the millennial progress of humanity, the sad prophecies came true, for by August, 1914, the whole system fell with a crash. European civilization then suddenly became a matter of shreds and patches. To change the figure, Europe suggested the break-up of ice in some great northern river, individual men drifting about on scattered floes with no present comfort, no assurance of future security. Thus all our painfully gained perfection of detail lay at the mercy

of the Balance of Power in which strength was measured as the ability of one set of paid defenders to rob and murder the inmates of neighbours' houses. Civilization can never really find itself until war has been wholly outlawed. Laws of war constitute a logical absurdity, the one being the absolute negation of the other.

War has been graphically styled "the best friend of disease." It is the best friend of all evils as well —of greed, lust, robbery, disorder, and dysgenics of every sort. It is the business of war to destroy, in each enemy country, whatever has been built up by a humane and co-operating civilization, and to accomplish its ends in the most ruthless fashion through a series of collective crimes utterly abhorrent in detail to any sane mind acting under individual initiative. Each recent belligerent was hideously successful by the use of modern mechanism, the prostitution of certain branches of science.

Yet in the long run war injures all its victims alike. Triumph and defeat are twin impostors, as Kipling in a lucid moment once assured us, and must be treated in the same way. It is a poor conflagration that burns on one side only. Delayed or disrupted has been the fate of every plan for human betterment. "Progress" continues Dr. Folks, "made slowly and painfully through the decades, was lost in two or three years, attention and funds were diverted to destroying instead of saving human life, and old-age pests and enemies of man took fresh heart and a firmer hold on the race."

In their effect on human life, war-ravages are three-fold: (a) the actual loss of soldiers and civilians; (b) the deterioration of the next generation through starvation, malnutrition and disease; and

(c) the loss to the nation of the best elements in generations yet to come. War is an agency for sifting out the weaklings, leaving them at home to breed. "Like the seed is the harvest," and the future of any race depends on the character of its parenthood. The "last cost of war" not to be repaired for generations is found in the extirpation of superior strains. The killing off of many of the best and bravest, a process inseparable from warfare, results inevitably in the lowering of the level of racial vigour through the partial limitation of male parenthood to those that war leaves behind.

As has been abundantly pointed out, war first devours the young, selected for strength and endurance, "the best that the nation can bring." But the devastation, immeasurable as it is, by no means stops there. For with each man who falls perishes also the great widening wedge, reaching forward through time, of those who by rights should be his descendants. "Giving his life for his country," man gives far more than that; he also yields up his proportion of the "slain unnumbered" who are never to be. Meanwhile the shadow of enforced celibacy depresses the womanhood of Europe. A world in which women hopelessly outnumber men is sadly unnatural. It means that thousands fitted for love and motherhood are to be debarred from the richest joys of life.

Over a large part of the world there is no longer a medium of exchange, and even barter has failed because vast multitudes have nothing which they can trade. This entails great sufferings only partially alleviated by charity and sympathy. Unavailable as currency, gold lies in the vaults of a few creditor nations, having bullion value only; normal financier-

ing must stop as long as such conditions exist. And our dependence on money is so great that the problem is not merely economic, but moral and spiritual as well.

Mental and moral derangements in the belligerent lands are just as strongly marked as economic derangement; to none of these is there any simple or immediate remedy. The woes of the war-torn world can all be summed up as the loss of human values. "Human life," said Herbert Hoover, "is rated at about sixpence on the east frontier of Germany—at about a guinea on the western." Scant room for idealism in an environment of violence, disease and misery!

The purpose of this chapter, however, is not to portray the darkness of the present, already too familiar; it is rather to look forward to the rebirth of the spirit, the revival of conciliation and mutual help, of freedom, order and justice, of all those attributes which must characterize a redeemed and Christianized world. Happily, in spite of the terrible delay of peace after the Armistice, the embittering discrepancy between Mr. Wilson's "Fourteen Points" and the Treaty of Versailles, St. Germain, and Neuilly, certain hopeful signs begin to appear on every side. The truth "can now be told," the atmosphere of hate is slowly clearing, the words of Norman Angell, Anatole France, Jane Addams, John A. Hobson, Romain Rolland, Lowes Dickenson, Friedrich Förster, Yukio Ozaki, and others are being heard gladly and by increasing numbers.

Europe to-day presents reasons for hope. The Continent may be likened to a forest ravaged by forest fire. Great trees have been stripped of foliage, thickets transformed into blackened brush,

ruin and desolation everywhere meeting the eye. Yet life remains and makes itself felt. New buds burgeon on old tree-trunks, the light green of fresh foliage appears here and there ; lilies spring up from hidden bulbs, and flowers give promise of fruitage to come.

> Nature who never yields,
> Is busy with sun and rain
> At her old sweet work again
> On the lonely battle-fields.*

So in Europe. The universities and schools are gathering themselves together ; scientific research is being resumed ; the senseless minor wars on Eastern frontiers are subsiding ; sanitation begins as slaughter leaves off ; fresh voices smothered in smoke and blood can be heard again ; the Society of Friends continues to justify its name ; the fierce "just anger which renders men unjust" is abating ; the late "Huns" sinned against as well as sinning, are once more human beings ; "Young Germany is proclaiming the highest motives of action, a poetic idealism impelling in time of peace just as a parallel but blind feeling rushed them into war. The World Congresses again announce their meetings, not in neutral territory alone, but everywhere, and with a revival of the old-time enthusiasm and mutual confidence.

A hopeful sign in America—one probably to be noted in all lands—is the redoubled demand for higher education. All our universities are crowded with eager youth. Through training of the mind one rises above the cheap pride of nativism and "hypernational" rivalries, to realize his kinship with men of other races and of other times.

* "Abraham Lincoln" : Henry Howard Brownell.

One of the most fruitful factors in world renaissance appears in the work of international relief inaugurated eight years ago by Herbert Hoover in Belgium and France, and still continued by him and his associates. Over Northern Europe and America has swept a great wave of sympathy, precursor to a co-operating world.

A natural result of the spread of kindly feeling is the revival of the spirit of religion. By this I do not mean an increased interest in ceremonies, vestments and creeds, nor yet a strengthening of ecclesiastical bodies. Still less would I include the recrudescence of superstition. I refer rather to the extension of Christian unity, the efforts of devoted men and women to form a solid phalanx in opposition to all the besetting sins of our time—war, waste, alcoholism, frivolity, and crime. Whether a matter of formal organization or merely of spirit, religious unity is a great factor for good, and bound to take a large part in the cementing of a just society. Working to the same effect is the further substantial agreement in all important regards on the part of the best minds in Great Britain and the United States. In high matters the two nations have the same ultimate aims, and their problems and difficulties internal and external, are of much the same general nature.

But an effective "revival of religion" comprises much more than a change of feeling. There is no substitute for intelligence in public affairs; mere adroitness in shifting from one service to another on the waves of popular emotion cannot take its place. The world demands leadership of the highest type, mental, moral and spiritual superiority. Indeed, the need is too great to be met by any one man, however competent. It calls for the combined wisdom of civilization. From this fact, more or less re-

organized, rose the ideal of a league of nations, an association of peoples, a council of civilization able to insure against another world catastrophe.

That demand has been partly met, but only partly : complete success is by no means attained. This failure is currently ascribed to the rejection of the pact by the United States of America ; it being assumed that had we come in all would have been well. This is a superficial view. Some of the elements which kept America out of the League are potent for evil and would have been equally so if she had entered it. It may be remembered that the particular plan behind it originated in the U.S.A. " The League to Enforce Peace," established at Philadelphia in 1915, was a powerful organization with large influence and large hopes for the future—this, despite the fact that many believed that force could never achieve the desired result. But a league of some kind is better than the anarchy of unguided nationalism. Such covenants do not stand on wording. They rest on the spirit behind. Union for peace, if genuine, would command a loyalty not surpassed by merely national patriotism.

It can be safely affirmed that on November 11th, 1918, the public opinion of America strongly favoured the conception of a world agreement for disarmament and co-operation. But various matters tended to chill enthusiasm. First came the disastrous interval between Armistice and Treaty. If the wounds of the war were to be healed they should have been treated (to borrow a surgeon's phrase) " by first intention." Europe's great need as the war ended was summed up in two words, bread and demobilization.

The final phrasing of the Covenant caused further

discouragement. The much discussed "Article X" meant either more than we could agree to or else nothing at all. The provision for "mandates" seemed to involve the extension of imperialism in a world already only precariously "safe for democracy." The Supreme Council threatened civilization with a super-government composed of changing and perhaps self-seeking elements. With the Geneva Assembly the American people feel a degree of sympathy and, in so far as they are informed, have appreciated its good works. But its modest success does not rest on international armies nor on preposterous threats of boycott. "A decent respect for the opinions of mankind" as evoked by the revolting colonies in 1776 I believe the only real force in international politics.

The idea of punishing a refractory state either by force of arms or by commercial isolation must be given up. Enforcement of peace by war is a self-contradictory idea and leads directly towards the Balance of Power. The notion of co-operative boycott need only be visualised to show its impracticability. Great States with their enormous interrelations are beyond the possibility of boycott. Can we conceive of other nations uniting for a commercial blockade against Britain or the United States in condemnation of the Boer War, or the War with Spain? But if only the smaller countries are to be thus punished the system would be distinctly unjust and in practice sure to become ridiculous. In this connection one may recall the scene ten years ago when the combined navies of the Concert of Powers "demonstrated" off the Montenegrin village seaport of Antivari in order to bring to terms the little Kingdom perched high above. As I re-

member, King Nicola up at Cettinje snapped his fingers at them (having little else to snap) and they went their way, accomplishing nothing save, as the Tsar of Bulgaria said, to show *comme grandes Puissances leur Impuissance.*

The work of the Washington Conference and its welcome by the peoples of the world is a most encouraging sign. At once it lifted a burden from over-loaded backs, and still more important, it turned men's thoughts another way. It pricked the noxious bubble (already again in the process of reinflation) of rivalry, fear, and hate, liable to end in "fighting to clear the air" under the futile plea, "What else can we do?"

The renaissance of science proceeds slowly, as may be seen from the scanty pages of technical journals. It is true that Chemistry and Physics experience a war-time "boom," but only because certain results could be turned to anti-scientific or inhuman uses. In America the need for general co-operation brought about the establishment of a "National Research Council," one of the functions of which has been to aid scientific investigation in other lands. Germany, the home of technical minutiæ, lacking books, materials and means of publication, has almost ceased to produce. Science, however, is international, and, acknowledging, no artificial boundary, rises into the clear atmosphere of mutual help; thus workers in the nations which have suffered least are willing and eager to assist their fellows.

One of the most difficult of all the problems of reconstruction concerns the tyranny of the frontier, next to military rivalry the heaviest burden borne by exhausted Europe; I mean the oppression of the individual man through the narrowness of boundaries

which hem in him. Oppression in the last analysis is individual rather than political. The evils of any tyranny are remedied by freedom and justice, but not necessarily by political independence. Liberty and independence are often not on speaking terms, as the self-determination provided for in various parts of Europe has already shown. Count Sergius Witte once laid a map of Europe alongside that of the United States. "Is it possible," said he, "that America would be so prosperous had she been crossed in every direction by national frontiers?"

The United States represents the greatest trade area in the world; her federated states can impose no tax or tariff on imports from other states, and her cities no *octroi* at their gates. Hence her internal commerce is open and friendly, no state uprising against another because all have common interests. Every tax on commerce is an interference with the natural division of labour, therefore a burden on normal relations. The Great War has turned bridges into chasms. It has stiffened the frontiers of Europe besides enormously increasing their number and range, they being now twice as extended as in 1912. For this condition no remedy lies in change of boundary which introduces new injustice—but in their practical obliteration through some form of federation such as bound together the infant colonies to form the United States. Federation, with equality under the law, interchangeable citizenship and freedom of trade would bring some relief to the Balkans as well as to the newly Balkanized regions of Europe.

Professor Wilhelm Förster, of Berlin, once observed to me that freedom of trade between France and Germany would sweep away old hostilities. To

what extent he was right no one can say. The experiment has never been tried.

Those who look forward to an effective "League of Nations," or to the earlier and perhaps better conception of "The United States of Europe," recognise that one of the first and greatest steps in that direction shall be the demobilization of frontiers, and the removal of all checks to intercourse between man and man. Self-determination of incongruous fragments not demanded in the interest of freedom is a step backward, for liberty may be established within the limits of a great nation far more securely than in a prescribed area beset with jealous rivals. Self-determination is not even a necessity of self-government. The experience of the United States shows clearly that local autonomy does not imply nor demand separation. The federated state, with government largely decentralized and local political problems relegated to the region in which they arise, furnishes one of the lessons which America can teach Europe. A large part of Germany's real greatness came from the adoption of the federal principle, although handicapped by the multiplicity of little units and the fact that the worst governed (because the most governed) was greater in wealth and population than all the others combined.

The "tyranny of the frontier" is only a part of the oppression arising from the concentration of power in the hypernational state. A state should exist for the mutual benefit of its citizens—who create it. One may say that a state should not demand allegiance from individuals unless it in turn confesses allegiance to them. Said Thoreau: "There will never be a really free and enlightened state until the state comes to recognize the individual as a

higher and independent power from which all its own power is derived, and treats him accordingly."

Nevertheless, freedom has its roots within the human soul and no outside power can take it away; most oppression springs from human weakness. "It is hard," says Voltaire, "to free men from the chains they revere." Those who in the sixteenth century cast off the shackles of oppression by an infallible church cheerfully accepted the chains of an infallible state under which the man became merely "a brick in the wall of an edifice he does not understand."

Coincident with the abatements of the orgies of self-determination one element after another moves toward that condition for which President Harding invented a handy term. For the most part time and patience will bring "normalcy" to Europe, and with the restoration of social relations, the old hopes are sure to return.

The biological problems will outlast the economic, their solution transcending statesmanship. Restoration in quantity is a matter of time; restoration in quality—in values moral, mental, and physical—will be a much longer and more difficult process. Still for a century to come, the history of Europe will disclose its failure adequately to conserve the most forceful elements of its population, still feel the loss of so many of its unborn best. But as in the long run the strong and intelligent tend to outlast the futile, the dissipated, and the lawless, we may expect after this, as after every other war, an ultimate though very tardy recovery.

Peace is the only way out, though to endure it must be at once constructive and progressive, not a mere negation.

In the words of Walter Weyl: "It must grow with the growth of the nations it holds together . . . a part of the enveloping atmosphere of the nations and the nations may grow up healthy in its atmosphere or they may stifle and die. . . . The peace which the world deserves is an organic and vulnerable thing. We have only begun to learn the vast toxicology of peace, the virulent recondite poisons that destroy it, poisons not placed there by wicked men, but, like fatigue germs, generated by the international body itself."*

Let me quote, in closing, the hopeful outlook of Jane Addams, one of the wisest leaders in the cause of humanity and peace: "It is a natural tendency of men to come into friendly relationships with ever larger and larger groups and to live constantly a more and more extended life. It required no courage to predict that the endless desire of men would at last assert itself—that desire which torments them almost like an unappeased thirst, not to be kept apart but to come to terms with one another. It is the very spring of life which underlies all social and all political organizations."†

* "The End of the War," 1916.
† "Peace and Bread in Wartime," page 296

AN ASSESSMENT OF WOMANHOOD

" The married woman of the people, who has children, is, on the whole, remains on the whole, the most valuable citizen which the country possesses."

It is a fortunate circumstance that " Renaissance," as the subject of this book, is spelt in a manner which shows that the word is used in its conventional sense, as marking the beginning of an era of progress. Had the more Latinised form of spelling been employed—" renascence," that is, re-birth—a protest must have been entered, for no such re-birth has taken place. Woman has merely developed in accordance with her opportunities. If we look at the prominent women of the past we shall see that though the general level of to-day is incomparably higher, still, in spite of their lack of opportunity, the women born great have in every age thrust themselves to the front. In saying this I wish entirely to exclude consideration of the woman of the type of the *grande amoureuse*, who has ruled, and ruled pitilessly, merely because of the power given by her physical charms. We know that most of the great men of history have been led by the nose by some lady whose powers of charm were a great deal higher than her virtue. But for the present purpose I want to exclude the whole army of loveliness, from the Queens of Beauty who presided over tournaments, to the most fascinating and daring of the beautiful meddlers of the present day. Besides excluding mere physical charm, we should also exclude the women who have ruled through

ruling one individual man. Such is the secluded woman of the East who, unchallenged and unchallangeable, is mistress in her own house and has far more influence than is usually supposed in the Courts and Council Chambers of Kings and Commonwealths. Under this rule we must therefore also leave out the most hard-faced Egeria who ever advised a politician of the way to success.

Of the women who are individually dominant in the past I think we shall generally find that their intellectual force was the result of education. The great Elizabeth herself received a sound classical education, as, indeed, did the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, whom Nature intended for a scholar and Fate used as a victim of circumstance. I forget whether Mary Queen of Scots was well educated by her formidable mother-in-law. The latter lady, at any rate, must have been a past mistress in the art of toxicology. In the sixteenth century women, if they were intellectually trained at all, were trained on the same lines as men. The classics afforded the sole means of intellectual gymnastics, and their study either slid off the minds of the girl students like water off a duck's back, or bore fruit of the masculine type. In the group of distinguished ladies who surrounded—and incidentally flattered—Dr. Johnson, we find that Fanny Burney was entirely self-educated, while Mrs. Montagu—the convener of the "Blue Stocking Club"—had to her credit the astonishing feat of having copied out the whole of Addison's *Spectator* before she was eight years old. Mrs. Thrale is spoken of as well read in English literature, and Hannah More is credited with a profoundly ponderous education; while in the school, which was so successfully kept by her sisters, not only was Latin

taught, but also a generous list of modern languages. Things seem to have degenerated when to quote the opening lines of *Vanity Fair*, the nineteenth century "was in its teens." The following was the mental equipment armed with which Miss Pinkerton discharged her favourite pupil from the fashionable academy patronised by the great Lexicographer :—

> "In music, in dancing, in orthography, in every variety of embroidery and needlework, she will be found to have realised her friends' *fondest* wishes. In geography there is still much to be desired ; and a careful and undeviating use of the backboard for four hours daily during the next three years, is recommended as necessary to the acquirement of that dignified *deportment and carriage* so requisite for every young lady of *fashion*."

No wonder poor Amelia did not make a great success of her life, and even that that little viper Becky was not much better instructed, but she, indeed, belongs to the section of women which we are not considering. Yet in those very days were published Miss Mitford's fascinating idylls of village life, which moreover were composed under such circumstances that they may be called the triumph of the "pot-boiler," while Jane Austen's novels had made even so unpromising an individual as George IV. turn his attention to literature. It is true that those of us who read our family records will find that the private education given in quiet country homes was very much above this average. Only the other day I discovered in the records of the large family of my own great-grandfather—a scholarly country clergyman—an account of how Mary, the eldest of the family, had received so excellent a classical education from her father that she was enabled to prepare her younger brothers for school. But those people who consider that in com-

munity-teaching lies the only true education (a fact which with regard to women I should be inclined to dispute) must acknowledge that in the early Nineteenth Century the education of the women of the so-called cultivated classes was in an exceedingly bad way. In earlier days they had been so exclusively occupied in turning their houses into factories for the production of all the goods needed therein that the ordinary women had little time to spare from preserving, salting, distilling, baking, and all the arts by which daily life in the country was made agreeable in the summer, and possible in the winter. But these handicrafts, as they may be called, had fallen into disuse when the need for them had ceased. The springing up of shops had left as the essentials of a young lady's education only the pursuit of accomplishments and the study of deportment.

Nor was the want of intellectual training the least serious of the evils from which women suffered. Ill-equipped mentally, those of the leisured classes could not bring any intelligent analytical observation to bear on the one great profession from which it has always been impossible to oust them—the profession of wife and mother. The children were shut away into nurseries, where, according to whether the presiding genius was kind or cruel, the lack of comfort which was thought good for them became tolerable or intolerable. Their mothers, having never been taught to think, had no conception of the effect of this treatment on the bodies, not to speak of the minds and characters, of their offspring and it must be acknowledged that with this sort of home life, the sooner the children were sent to school the better. We wonder in vain at the world's want of logic in the age which may be called " The age of the Dominant

Male." It never appears to have occurred to anyone that the untrained mother was quite as futile in the upbringing of the man-child as in that of the less-wanted female. For those all-important years of life, from birth to five or six, the mother holds undisputed sway over the fate of the masters of creation. The first dawn of hope was to come from the studies of Pestalozzi and Froebel, who by their reversion to the methods of Socrates gave the first impetus to the educational theories of to-day.

Yet, even in these dark years we have the anomaly of the essentially masculine work of George Eliot, the whole output of the Bronte sisters, and the writing of that woman of delicately incisive intellect, Mrs. Gaskell, which in spite of the popularity of *Cranford*, has never received the ungrudging recognition which it deserves. One great and unfortunate product may be put to the credit of the Nineteenth Century. The years from the Thirties to the Nineties produced in large quantities a new species of woman which was labelled with the unfortunate title of " old maid." Now the old maid is in essence entirely different from the unmarried woman who flourishes to-day. First and foremost she is associated with the idea of failure. She failed, that is, to find a man, who would pay for her board, lodging and clothing for the rest of her life. The large families of children, in which, encouraged by the example of their Queen, the mid-Victorian leisured classes indulged, were responsible throughout the country for an enormous number of women living in families. Imagine four or five idle grown-up women, shut up in one house, all dependent on some unfortunate male for their support. They had been taught no profession, not even the profession for

which they were tacitly, but none the less absolutely destined, and unless they happened to have the good luck to be the daughters of clergymen and so legitimately employed in parish work, their outlook was exceedingly dreary. No wonder that towards the end of the century there were rumours of rebellion. The great " revolting daughters " controversy loomed large in magazines and papers, and the girls and boys of the day were blamed for their very natural conduct in behaving as if the world belonged to them. With the institution of College Education for Women things improved. It became recognised that the public services were carried on as much for the female sex as for the male, and that it would be logical to employ women to protect the interests of women. Hence a rather grudging assent to their right to University education was conceded and the efforts of Miss Clough and her devoted band of fellow-workers were crowned with success.

All this time, of course, the women of the unleisured classes had no such problems before them. There was no doubt about it that the domestic toil of the world fell to their lot, and the drudgery of the mechanism of living—the necessary cooking, cleaning, and washing—was drudgery indeed because it was done by women who had never been taught to think how it might be systemised and lessened, and who accepted the inconvenience of cottages with no water supply, etc., with dreary resignation. The married woman of the people who had children was on the whole, and remains on the whole, the most valuable citizen which the country possesses. But it was never perceived that if she too learnt to think, and especially if highly educated women thought it worth while to think on her behalf, her drudgery would be immensely

diminished, leaving leisure for more important developments. And so, with the bulwarks of old customs fully manned for the defence, but giving way now and then under the dauntless attacks of the pioneers of Woman as a Citizen—we come to that four years in which the forces of men, being necessarily turned to destruction, most of the constructive work of the world was left in the hands of the women.

As hinted above, much had been done in the matter of women's education in the years before the outbreak of the war, so much, indeed, that it had been realised by some people that higher education on exactly the same lines as that given to men was not the only thing which was needed in regard to women. It is difficult without seeming ungrateful to offer the slightest criticism of the great movement for the intellectual training of women, but there is little doubt that in its early days it entailed certain disadvantages. The only education which had ever been pushed up to a University standard was the education of men, and the inevitable effect of applying the same ideals to women, was that the science of the home was neglected, with the result that the arts and sciences which underlie the mechanism of life were not only omitted but despised. The clever girls in every school were reserved for purely intellectual occupations, and it was thought that only the stupid should study those subjects which are the foundations underlying the education of children and the well-being of the home. With the training of women as doctors this matter began to right itself and before the war there was at least one college—King's College for Women, University of London—where it was realised that Home Science in its widest sense could, in truth,

afford a worthy field for training the intellect to the highest possible standard. It cannot be said that the women in the older Universities encouraged the new idea. To some of them it seemed actually a retrograde step, for in University education on the older lines women had quickly proved their intellectual capacity. Their colleges flourished and increased, and, though they were not allowed to take their Degrees, the Honours List contained their names in a proportion which, considering the proportion of women to men in the Universities was entirely creditable.

The ever-increasing tempest which raged around the granting of the Franchise was responsible for the idea having occurred to certain distinguished women, chief among whom was Mrs. Humphry Ward, that a Committee of reference might be formed in which the subjects of legislation of special interest to women might be investigated and advice offered to the Legislature. The exact steps by which this idea took form are not important, but the final result was to establish a Joint Parliamentary Advisory Council consisting of two sections—the Advisory Committee, composed of Members of Parliament and Women Social Workers, which not only considers Bills before Parliament with a view to amendment, but also initiates legislation—and a Women's Council, which collects facts and prepares business for the above Committee. This Association has a great deal of laborious investigation to its credit and its field comprises nothing less than all legislation which affects women or children. Even before the war the unpaid social workers of the world were largely recruited from among women, and a certain surprise may have been caused by the discovery that these

workers were like men—individually either good, bad, or indifferent, and could by no means be disposed of under any general heading. It should not be forgotten that in urban and suburban districts women who accepted the duty of public service were not confined to the leisured classes. In the country things were, perhaps, a little different, for the married women in the villages were, as observed above, too busy wrestling with the inconvenient conditions of their lives to have time for dealing with anything except their private affairs.

The outbreak of the War just seven years ago found, then, the world of women by no means untrained, untaught or unprepared for the great tasks they were so soon called upon to perform. In the early days only one active outlet seemed to be before them—a heavy and important task, but one which had always been universally acknowledged to belong to the sphere of woman—the nursing of the sick and wounded. Fortunately, here, too, women were not taken unawares. Outside the ranks of the trained nurses there existed the organisations of the V.A.D.'s raised by the two Societies of the Red Cross and the Order of St. John. The absolutely unlimited supply of volunteers which in 1914 was available for this service proves in itself how unlikely in those days seemed the thousand tasks to which women were to set their hands. It may be almost said that half the active women of England flocked into the ranks of the Joint Societies, for swift amalgamation of their forces was the natural result of the call for active service. It is curious to remember the hesitation of the Military Authorities for several months in allowing these workers to pass the doors of the Military

Hospitals, but it was not till the war was some months old that even the Nursing Members were allowed in the wards, while the establishment of women as cooks, orderlies, motor drivers, and in a host of other capacities, was still further delayed. Everyone will remember the later stages of the war. The V.A.D.'s, the W.A.A.C., the W.R.N.S., and the W.R.A.F.S. all wore the King's uniform, as did the Land Girls who helped to keep the spectre of famine from the country. So matters went on through the four years of struggle, but the profound change which had thus been made in the constitution of the world was, as we now perceive, not fully realised till the signing of the Armistice gave a moment of respite. For women the doors were open indeed. The vote, the House of Commons, the Bench of Magistrates, the Jury Box—here were some of the immediate changes by which her right to full citizenship was recognised. In municipal politics women had long taken their share ; but now they were summoned to direct their attention to imperial affairs. In truth, the fact which for the first time met with full recognition was that one half of the human race is female. In the spring of 1921, the first woman member of Parliament, Lady Astor, called a conference to consider how far the new situation which had arisen warranted fresh efforts of co-operation on the part of women. To this conference representatives of all women's organisations were summoned, and the part which these are taking in the conduct of public affairs may be gathered from the fact that over fifty women's societies and associations are now affiliated to the Consultative Committee of Women's Organisations, which was the result of that Conference. The list is, unfortunately, too long to be given here, but the names of the asso-

ciations give eloquent tribute to the number and diversity of activities in which women are engaged. In the full recognition of thir rights to equality the University of Oxford has conferred upon them their degrees, and it may be hoped that soon Cambridge will recognise the new age which has dawned upon the world. Who can doubt that for the future equality of opportunity and equality of responsibility between the sexes must be recognised as the law of life ?

Let no one think that equality of opportunity involves the principle that woman has no special vocation which it should be her first duty to accomplish. That would be to contradict the law of nature and lead to a path on which no progress is possible. The bearing and upbringing of children will always remain the task to which in the interests of the State all other aims and objects of women must be sacrificed, and marriage and motherhood should be regarded as as honourable and as lucrative a profession as any other. It is true that unless that invaluable asset—the romance of the world—is to be sacrificed, it is not a profession that can be entered at the sole will of the student at the conclusion of her training. On the contrary, matrimony looks at first sight as though it were a profession which can only be entered at the sacrifice on the woman's part of her economic independence. But is there any reason why this should be so ? No man would wish to pay actual wages to his wife and no woman would, perhaps, wish to receive hard cash for doing her duty to her husband and children. But should not the fact of wifehood and motherhood give a woman, so long as her duties are fulfilled, a legal right to receive a certain share of her

husband's income? Even in the Middle Ages the widow's dower was calculated as one third of her husband's property. And why should the live husband do less than the dead? The economic independence of every individual is the true path to the freedom of that individual. It therefore follows that unless the mothers of the nation's children are to be less free than anyone else, the fact should be legally recognised that, since in marriage a woman sacrifices her opportunities of earning money, those duties entitle her to a definite share in the money of the family-partnership. In the leisured classes motherhood is at best a "blind alley" occupation, that is to say, it is an occupation which, whilst it keeps a woman who looks after or teaches her own children, fully occupied in youth, will be apt to leave her in middle-age very much out of a job. But that is no reason why her economic independence should also be threatened. Her share in her husband's income should, when her children are grown up, be regarded as a pension for duties performed. The childless woman would probably long before middle-age have returned to her original profession, but it should be definitely recognised that no woman with children who goes out daily to work from early morning to late afternoon can be considered as giving sufficient time to the proper fulfilment of her duties as housemistress and mother.

Fortunately matrimony is neither a profession for which it is impossible to train, nor one in which the training does not lead to occupations whereby a woman can gain her bread. The medical woman, the welfare worker, the health visitor, the demonstrator or teacher of domestic economy and of physical

culture, the child's teacher, the trained nurse, and the domestic servant have all increased their capacity for matrimony by their training for their several professions. Even the business clerk may claim that her special knowledge will be of use in arranging the budget of her household, for woman in every grade of society is always the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the home. An immense field has been opened to women by the acknowledgement of the debt which physical health owes to psychology, and every mother of the next generation who has studied the question of child psychology and child upbringing in the theories of Froebel and of Dr. Montessori, deserves well of posterity. What may be called vicarious motherhood—that is the care and upbringing of other people's children—has always been a task which might suddenly be laid on the shoulders of any woman —and it is a task for which no training of any sort used to be available. It is beginning to be possible for any intelligent woman to get some help on the subject from books written by doctors and other students of child psychology, and sooner or later we may look forward to the time when the grave importance of the first five years of life will be recognised, and qualified teachers will be needed to impart " first principles " to all who have the care of children.

It must, of course, be acknowledged that there are a considerable number of women's professions which the married woman should abandon, and she can only console herself with the thought that her training has not been wasted inasmuch as it has cultivated her mind and caused her to have command over that instrument. Narrowness of outlook—the result in so many married women of the want of power of connected thought, will, also, it may be hoped, be

improved when there are no women in any class of society whose minds have not received equal cultivation with those of their male relatives. An intense impetus has been given in this direction by the great movement by which Women's Institutes have been established to improve the community life of rural villages. The monthly meetings with lectures on a great variety of subjects, though too discursive to be of direct educational value are most useful in giving an impetus to wider fields of thought. It must be supposed that before very long the women themselves will see what an opportunity their "community existence" gives them to study some special subject in more detail than is possible at their social meetings.

Enough has here been said to show the vastness of the opportunities which are open to women, and the revelation by the last Census of the fact that there are in this country two million more women than men proves the absolute necessity of training women for suitable occupations by which they may achieve economic independence. The danger that man in his turn may regard marriage as a means of livelihood must be faced, for the position which imposes the burden of an extra two million idle persons to be supported by men, is much greater than the danger that the acknowledgement of the equal rights of women may lead to a certain number of men marrying with the hopes that their wives will support them. Such a state of things over and above its other disastrous consequences would necessarily lead in time to the State guardianship of children; and that this is an enormous misfortune is already acknowledged even by those public bodies which have laid upon them the duty of bringing up children. It is becoming more and

more obvious that children cannot be brought up in large communities, and that if the natural family fails, an artificial family must be substituted. Some Boards of Poor Law Guardians copy the life of the family by having communities of about thirty children educated in large cottages under the care of a Cottage Mother and an Assistant Cottage Mother. Here you have a painful and laborious attempt to reproduce artificially the natural conditions of everyday family life. Even with the certainty of failure of a proportion of marriages, it is apparent that family life is worth keeping because the child who is born and brought up by a fairly competent mother has an infinitely better chance in life than any other child. How hopeful would be the conditions were a considerable proportion of mothers not only competent, but trained in child physiology and child psychology. Recent studies in the latter subject point to the danger of inhibitions and the disastrous effect of fear on the mind of the child. Who can guard him as well as his mother from these dimly-understood dangers of his babyhood ? The nursing of the child in sickness may in truth be better done by the expert, who is not distracted by anxiety, and who can bring technical knowledge to bear on the artificial conditions of the sick room ; but for the maintenance of health the woman who has watched her child from the first hours of life has such advantages of opportunity over every other individual, that it must be clearly acknowledged that it is her duty as a citizen to train herself for her task in every way which is open to her. If her profession has been one of that large class which help in this training, well and good. If not, let her bring her trained brain and ability to bear as fully as possible upon the task before her. This same trained

brain should be used not only to open the gates of opportunity to woman in the future—it should also point to where she has failed in the past to make the most of her special mission in the world. The old tag about the hand that rocks the cradle—which is greeted with such impatience by ambitious girlhood, has its origin not in sentimentality but in sober scientific fact. Motherhood and vicarious motherhood—the care and training of children—should be not only recognised, but trained for and remunerated as a profession second to none in its importance. It is a profession in which woman is the specialist appointed by nature, and it is the profession on the success of which the well-being of the world depends.

A PATRIOTIC FELLOWSHIP

" Women are called to a patriotic fellowship;
to give their quota to the world's well-being."

DURING some of the ecclesiastical strifes that convulsed the religious world in the sixties, Monseigneur Talbot wrote from the Vatican to Cardinal Manning in England :—" What is the province of the laity ? To hunt, to shoot, to entertain. These matters they understand." The laity to-day take less interest in theological matters than they did in that period of history, but they would still deny vehemently that they are incapable of understanding the things of the spirit. But do they ? On the particular topic of this chapter what keen antagonisms, what bitter resentments, what gross misunderstandings of things spiritual have entered into life. The Divine Spirit of equality which breathes through the gospels has been denied again and again, in practice, to women. And even to-day only a grudging recognition is given. To convert mere recognition into a happy and hearty fellowship in life's work and citizenship is a prime requisite to the consummation of that Renaissance which the highest minds believe is struggling into renewed Life from the Aftermath of the War.

" What is the province of women ? " is not only a question of the immediate past, but remains in lesser degree the question of to-day. What part are they to play in the body politic ? What do they claim

and what does the State ask from them ? Have they a sphere in the organised life of the Church, and of citizenship ? The laity are asking these questions quite as anxiously as the ecclesiastics of old. And in many cases still asking them—be it noted—in terms of old : Why do women meddle in matters too high for their understanding ? Why cannot they be content that men should have dominion over them, and submit like all other creatures to " the lords of creation ? "

None, of either sex, likes to be disorganised and jostled. We like to run in recognised grooves, and we dislike to be interrogated by all sorts and conditions of men and women, who are boldly challenging prescriptive rights, who are questioning the need or even the wisdom of retaining outworn social creeds and distinctions.

In the days when the ecclesiastic quietly decided what was the part of the laity, the part assigned to the female portion, would have been something of this sort. If you are religious and have a vocation, give up the life of the human family ; abandon its call on your mind and body, and enter some form of cloistered life, vowed to the things which are not of the world. If you are of the world, what are you for ? To marry young and advantageously. To have and rear children, to look to the cares of the home, to be uncritical, to be the slave of selfishness, to consider how you can amuse and charm, to know yourself unfit for public service, to remember that you have no responsibilities, because you are merely a possession. Your only claim for consideration is your weakness and ignorance.

That society never quite acted on its laws, that human nature, and common sense, and the Christian

religion taught spiritual equality and chivalry to the weak, all these things saved the normal situation. Social inequalities are bad elements in any state of society, and the position of women under the law has not improved them. Their sense of equal responsibility is as dead in the mass of women, as it is among peoples who have been held and treated as serfs.

The task of the future is to make all citizens more worthy of their high calling, more conscious of the worth and influence of the individual. The outstanding vices of this age only differ from those of any other age, in the number who practise them, and the wealth that is misused. There have always been gamblers in men's lives, or in their own fortunes. Drunkenness and gluttony among men, extravagance and light conduct amongst women, has always existed. That women were painted dolls, only fit for adornment and amusement, has been steadily taught by the civil law. By the consent of society manners and morals have become more refined. Drunkenness is no longer the mark of a lord ; the lower immoralities are no longer fashionable among the fine gentlemen of the world. The majority of women, now that they are no longer bartered in marriage, and treated as a possession, value themselves and marriage more highly, but there are many who bear the traces of social inferiority and do not have a notion that the most important thing in their career, and what is more, the fortunes of the race, depends on how they marry, and under what conditions they mean to consent to bear and rear children.

It is true that some of these things are now behind us, but the results are not to be got rid of in one generation ; it will take long before we can eradicate the effects of all that bound women in slavery to a

shameful and unnatural life, and till all classes of women learn to pull their weight, and appreciate how valuable are their free lives to the common weal.

And, how can this be done as we speed day by day " down the ringing grooves of change " ?

It is a truism that women did their part well during the War. But, why not ? They are neither less courageous nor less patriotic than men. The call of the country for service was identical for both. What labour was not voluntary was well paid, and usually earned by no slackers. Women were neither strikers nor conscientious objectors during the War. They did what was hoped of them, and they had the reward they sought for. Service for their country ; many felt that was sufficient recompense. Those who sought and received pay were not the less patriotic. They were capable of understanding what lay beneath the contest. The nation forgot at that tense moment that they could not be held as responsible citizens, because as women they could not bear arms, and that all government rested primarily on brute force. The people discovered that sex was no barrier to common interests, to common endeavour and a common suffering.

And, now that war is over, when the mimic fight of an election takes place, we are always seriously told that the electorate numbered so many, of whom so many were women. It would be as pertinent to say that so many men were clean-shaved, and, so many declared themselves illiterate. The illiterate men were given a vote long before women received their franchise. At present, all this is merely the first stages in a social evolution. If you have determined that a woman is a thing set on a pedestal, or in a slave market, you get to look for her either on a pedestal,

or among the goods, soiled or unsoiled, of the world's necessary helots. We must adjust our minds to a different view. Women are called to a patriotic fellowship. They are asked to consider the call to give their quota to the world's well-being. If they have no oil in their lamps, we are without light. It is not good for man to work or live alone. Partnership is of the essence of production. The man cannot be in the home if he truly works for it. The woman cannot care for the home if she does not realise that her great work is in its upkeep. The race itself cannot continue without partnership. The War taught women workers what it meant to be paid fair wages for fair work. It taught many that no good work can be done, however great the spirit, without good food. It taught others how to work with men as good comrades, and to respect both themselves and the men whom they were called to assist in great endeavours. To a few, it was a temptation and both fell into lustful idle ways. These things must always be, so long as evil exists in the world. There might always have been less of it had the woman been given the safeguard of a nobler freedom, and had men been taught that the rights of sex and the control of the passions, were the most important things in the history of every race.

In no stage of the history of mankind have women been called on for more true comradeship than has been the case in the last ten years. Fortunate it was, that the call came when women had been led to consider their disabilities in the nation, and to organise and demand a higher status in the commonweal. That women were organised in politics, in industry, that their "rights" were claimed, disputed and denied by the majority in the State, was the prep-

aration needed to fit them to prove themselves when the nations of the world decided that ordeal by battle must preserve the freedom of mankind.

And now the future. We know the past sufferings, and we feel the pressure of present difficulties. We look into the lives of men and women. The marriages are fewer, the divorces innumerable. The birth rate is low, but so is infant mortality. Men and women seem equally determined to chase care away by pleasure. Dress in the one sex, gambling in the other; extravagance and great relative poverty affect all classes. There are no leaders in Church or State. The Statesmen are dead, the place-hunting politician reigns over a swarming civil service. Work and service are at a discount. The labouring man asks how little he can do, and how much he can get. The women who once thought domestic service and the crafts of the home the most honourable of professions have put both aside. War service has unsettled one generation of women, but though it has brought a restlessness and desire for the stream of active life, there is this to be said, that women have learned that idleness is tedious, and, they ask for the occupation and interest which organised work can give.

Another aspect is the Press: where is the leadership in it? If we are to judge of the interests of women at this time by the Woman's Column in the daily paper, or in the papers especially dedicated to what are considered female concerns, we might well despair of the future. Neither sex can call the other black, when it looks out on a weary and restless world, neither can say: *we* are leading in a strait path; *you* alone are hanging back, you alone are pursuing that broad road which leads and has always led to social destruction, and to a bankruptcy in national character.

What is needed is a levelling up of all grades in both sexes in citizenship. It will be a great step forward when the call to public service is taken by all classes without comment. At present, if a magistrate finds himself beside a woman colleague, or a judge has to address a panel of jury citizens, he feels called on, according to his sense of good taste, or the reverse, to comment on the difference between men and women. We must cease to think of democracy in sexes. The people has always implied both sexes, and their true interests are indivisible. The longer we put off recognising this, the slower we are to get the whole race in motion toward a common goal of high ideals. The more we love the good of the masses, the nearer we shall be to real progress and to a sound basis of reconstruction. It may be that we shall be left without great leaders till we have learnt the lesson that in the highest vision we are to call nothing common or unclean in the created universe. It may be that the child set in the midst of us all, that the maternity of women is to be the restorer and healer of our torn and ragged humanity.

Certain it is, that unless women rise to the new occasions, and new opportunities given to them, we shall all sink with their failure. They are the idealists, the trainers of the race, and only those who in the coming Renaissance are watching and alive to the great call, will be found worthy of the service of God and of humanity.

PERSONALITY IN NATIONAL PROGRESS

" The world, too long ridden by make-believes, is crying out for men and women strong enough and wise enough and confident enough to make their own discipline—and the call seems likely to be answered."

To use the word Renaissance to characterize the prospects of the post-war world may seem to many a grave jest upon our prevailing troubles and perplexities. Not Renaissance, but disillusionment, best sums up the present mood of vast numbers of men and women who, having been taught by their political counsellors, from 1914 onwards, to look for a new world of harmony and freedom after the war, find European society involved in an even deeper disorder than that from which the friends whom they still mourn died to rescue her. The War, they tell us, so far from producing an enduring settlement, has produced a universal unsettlement. In order to redress wrong in Belgium and elsewhere which certainly needed righting—if not indeed at such a cost —we have stirred up a host of quiescent problems and conflicts. We have awakened old and passionate nationalisms to new life. We have destroyed the delicate economic balance which maintained an equipoise between Europe and the overseas world. We have de-industrialized the old Continent and, by pauperizing its purchasing public, plunged millions into idleness in Great Britain and America.

Who dares to speak of Renaissance in the face of such a catastrophic array of problems, at a moment when, if ever in the world's history, the course of events seems so plainly to have outrun the wisdom and the pre-vision of those whom we by courtesy call statesmen? Renaissance suggests a movement of mind. What we are involved in to-day is but a mere clash of things. Civilization is being ground to pieces by the jostle and collision of forces, initiating indeed from human brains and wills, but long since grown too powerful for human guidance and control.

Such is the post-war scene, as it appears at first sight, especially to those who, worn out by years of effort and suspense and often by bereavement also, feel a craving for peace and harmony and indeed, if they but knew it, not for peace only but for quiescence. But such also was the scene, the post-mediæval scene, at the time which a later age, looking back with calmer vision, loved to describe as "The Renaissance." Birth is no quiet and orderly process. The irruption of new life, of new ideas and forces, into this set and comfortable world, is never easy and harmonious, or unattended by discomfort and commotion. The Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century, so far from administering poppy-seed to a drowsy world and transporting it into a calm realm of classical beauty and serene philosophy, was a movement of revolt, of adventure, of energetic initiation. It was the break-up of a harmony, not its consummation. The mediæval world, like the Nineteenth Century world, had worked out a harmony of its own and fashioned an external order to correspond with it. But when faith grew dim and the spiritual and intellectual order began to disintegrate, an imposing outward organisation remained concealing the hollowness within.

Long before the Sixteenth Century Christendom had ceased to be Christian. Its princes and rulers, above all Rome itself, had turned to other gods. And movement after movement of protest, Wyclif, Hus and Savonarola on the one hand, and Villon and Petrarch and the Troubadours on the other, had borne witness to the living forces which were seeking self-expression within an alien organism, if need be at the cost of its disruption.

So it was with pre-war Europe. The gods of the Nineteenth Century were indeed not the gods of the Cathedral-builders, and the mills and warehouses in which men served them can ill bear comparison, either with Chartres or Siena or Toledo, or with the temples of India or China. But at least they bear witness to a robust faith and an unquenchable hope—to a faith in Comfort as a visible and substantial good or god, and in Progress, that is, more Comfort, the greatest Comfort for the greatest number, as the goal of endeavour, or, for less energetic and more fatalistic spirits, as the inevitable dowry of the human race. Mid-Nineteenth Century Europe, the Britain of the Great Exhibition and the Western Europe of Napoleon III. and the Cobden Treaty, in which Free Trade was the fashion and the Manchester School the prevailing creed, had reached for a brief moment, a harmony or appearance of harmony, an adjustment between men's thinking and outer circumstances, comparable to the harmony of Mediæval Christendom. There was never a moment, however, in the Nineteenth Century when warning voices were not sounding. In the years after the Napoleonic Wars, men who disliked the invasion of the machine looked wistfully and desperately backward and sought in the Romantic Movement for an escape from the enveloping vulgarity of their

surroundings. But they were more closely linked to their times, and to their fellow-countrymen, than they knew, and, in seeking refuge in the past they were unwittingly creating the future ; for it is the Romantic Movement, running like a red thread through the century, and through the map of Europe, from Ireland and Scotland and France, may-be from stolid and unresponsive England also, to Germany and Italy and Bohemia and Yugo-Slavia, which has awakened the slumbering goddess of nationality and, among millions of plain peasants and workmen and professionals, stirred up ancestral memories that have now been fashioned into living forces and fiery purposes. These were premonitions, in our so settled world, of a coming outburst of Renaissance.

Nor was its twin, its inseparable associate, the Reformation, unheralded either. Where Hus and Wyclif had their thousands, the modern Protestants, the great movement of protest known as Socialism, numbered its tens of thousands, its millions. Day after day, for the last three generations, on the platform and at the street corner, men and women, inspired with the fervour of blind rebellion against what they know and feel to be bad, and with a faith which puts to shame the blind week-day working assumptions of the devotees of the existing order, have plied " the capitalist system " with criticism and obloquy and defiance. It has survived their assaults, for its material foundations were firmer than they knew. Private ownership, as a working system of production, is stronger to-day than it has been at any time in modern history, for its suggested alternatives are in the trough of exhausted effort and palpable failure. But if the system which the Manchester School taught us to worship as the " invisible hand "

which provides sustenance for humanity, has proved its practical efficacy, as a religion it has lost its power. Men have learnt to put it in its proper place, as a means to life, not as life's substance. Even in their defeat the Socialists have won the day. Like the retreating Parthian, they have brought down the enemy with their last arrow. While they were preaching a brand-new economic system, based on this or that perfect design of organisation, as the final harmony, the Messianic ideal towards which all humanity must move, they were victims of the very order of thinking from which they had set out to rescue an enslaved world. They were ensnared in the capitalist's own trap. But now that events have shown that all such Messianic visions are misplaced, that the complex arrangements by means of which the world is supplied with goods, and services lend themselves to no such harmonious and systematic regimentation ; that, in other words, they have been victims of a confusion of thought, and of planes of thinking, the way is clear, both for more positive and practical schemes of industrial reform, and for the transference of Protestant thinking and idealism to other and wider regions where they are sorely needed. Thus both Nationalism and Socialism, Mazzini and Marx, the two great streams of Nineteenth Century idealism, are ready to pour their waters into the broad river of what we can surely name the Twentieth Century Renaissance.

Let us look back once more for a moment at our Sixteenth Century analogy ; for, if the modern movement is to escape the comparative failure of its predecessor, it behoves us to ask whence this has proceeded.

The Renaissance and the Reformation were, as has

been suggested, two aspects of a single movement, a movement of liberation from the outward mediæval unity, from the organization which ensured its external survival. The Renaissance liberated the human intelligence and set men free to dwell in a world of beauty and of humane studies. The Reformation liberated the human conscience and set men free to act according to their own inward promptings and convictions. Each of the two processes of liberation, rightly viewed, assisted and supplemented the other. The Renaissance scholar and artist was the natural ally of the Reforming theologian and pioneer; and Erasmus, who united the two-fold impulse in his own comprehensive personality, will for ever remain a symbol of their inner association. But limitations of personality and of means of intercourse and occasions of understanding, drove the two movements apart and enabled the reactionaries to keep them divided; and so, as the generations went on, each became stiffened in isolation, withdrawn from the stimulating contact of the other. The Renaissance, initiated as a great adventure into the realm of the spirit, led by men who took all knowledge for their province and employed it to broaden their horizon, to strengthen their integrity of mind and character and to deepen and enrich their contacts with humanity, degenerated sometimes into the graceful amateurism of a mere upper-class culture, sometimes into the dogmatism and pedantry of unrelated specialisms; worst of all, in the modern age, the realm of knowledge, which to the Renaissance scholar, as to the Greek, was a living organic unit, one broad expanse open to the enquiring mind and evoking its curiosity and wonder, has fallen a victim to the prevailing fashion of industrial specialization and has been so

divided and departmentalized that its true nature and connections are in danger of obliteration. How little there is in common between the spirit and outlook of the great Sixteenth Century humanists and the pedestrian labours of some of our modern intellectual helots, mere unthinking cogs in a vast machine of specialist production, working for a posterity which, it is presumed, but through no help of theirs, will have regained its power to see the whole in every part and to relate the atom to the universe !

The Reformation, if by slower degrees, has fallen into a similar decline. Its leaders owed their strength and fire to their living experience of religious truth, of the inner meaning and reality of the faith, expressed, if imperfectly, owing to the inadequacy of mere words to render the language of the soul, in the traditional forms of the Christian creed. But succeeding generations, born into a scheme of belief which their fathers had conquered in the agony of endeavour, were spared the effort and thus deprived of its inward consecration. The cares of the world supervened. Men, wiser, as they thought, than their Master, emphasized the necessity of organisation, of discipline, of the external forms of unity ; and so what to the earlier Reformers had been a mere social by-product of the intimate experience which was their religion, became more and more the chief concern of the so-called religious-minded. Religion became identified once more with Church organization, on this or that basis of membership, while its roots in the human soul and its contacts with the Infinite withered and shrank in the stuffy and lifeless atmosphere of what among one set of votaries in England often developed into a pharisaical pietism and among another into an almost frivolous ecclesiasticism. Protestantism, its

first fine fervour and protest staled and blunted by custom, is in danger of imprisoning the human spirit in a closed department of its own, cleaner perhaps and austerer than its mediæval predecessor, but far less spacious and satisfying to the human spirit longing for unity.

Can we lay our finger on the determining cause of the degeneration of these two movements? It is that they ceased to be carried on by *men*. Distrustful of their capacity to radiate power in their own persons, to live and move and have their being as creatures made in the image of God and with a ray of divinity in their own true-sighted, if limited, faculties, their followers sought to cast all their cares and responsibilities elsewhere, to find a power intermediate between their weak selves and the greatness of their allotted task; and as there is no power intermediate between man and God, they invented a make-believe, the organization; they forgot that, in the spiritual sphere, however it may be in the political, out of a coalition of weaknesses no strength can issue forth, that a huddle of frightened sheep in a storm cannot magically produce a shepherd. Organizations are composed of men, and constituted to suit their purposes. If men have not the strength to stand alone, to live by themselves, as they were born and must die, in the face of the Infinite, no ingenuities will avail to cover their cowardice. What the world needs and what for the lack of which it has long been suffering, especially in the modern age, is a sufficient number of men and women strong enough and wise enough, and confident enough in the firm basis of their faith, to make their own discipline and to imprint upon the chaos of the outer world the seal of their own inner cosmos and harmony. The sense that this

is the overmastering need, and the growth of an impulse to meet it, are the chief and most encouraging factors in the present spiritual situation. The world, too long ridden by make-believes, is crying out for men and women ; and in the extremity of its need, the call seems likely to be answered.

Let us consider this sense of the inadequacy of external organisation, this sense of the need of a truer order and harmony proceeding from within, first in the manifestations of the world's practical life, and then in some of the more intimate revelations of the modern soul.

To the conventional mind, accustomed to think in terms of externalities, the War seemed destined to clear up a number of outstanding problems and to leave the Twentieth Century with a tidier, more comfortable and orderly world. The map of Europe, in which, owing to the autocratic empires, the boundaries of nations and states did not coincide as they should, was to be redrawn, once and for all, on scientific lines, and, their frontiers thus revised, and their constitutions brought up to date, the nations were to join together in a league to inaugurate a new era of peace, justice and fair dealing. To the American, viewing the scene from afar, this double programme of nationality and internationalism, of satisfied nations assembling for common purposes, seemed simple and easy of accomplishment. Yet, three years after the close of hostilities, in spite of a map redrawn with a very fair measure of scientific impartiality, the world seems no tidier and more orderly than it did before. Indeed, the contrary is the case. For one old problem solved there are ten new ones, and the end is not yet.

Why is this ? It is because the real problems of the age are not political but spiritual. The political

problems which we thought we needed to solve in order to attain peace were only a facade to conceal greater problems behind, or, to vary the metaphor, moulds into which men, incapable of shaping their needs in truer form, had followed Nineteenth Century fashions in pouring out their desires and ideals.

If political nationalism, the desire for a sovereign right of national self-determination, had been so overmastering a force as it represented itself to be, its satisfaction would have led to a temporary quiescence. So far from this being the case, the success of the nationalist cause in the outer world has led everywhere to the emergence of new impulses and conflicts in the inner. The movement of national self-determination has been the prelude to a movement of individual self-determination. Yugo-Slavia, Bohemia, Ireland, no longer politically enchained, have ceased to be the symbols of a programme of associated action in the outer world. But, instead of fading into the common life of every day, they have become an impulse to inner achievement, the banner of movements, which perhaps it is a blasphemy to describe as "cultural," through which Yugo-Slavs, Bohemians and Irishmen, striving to be more and more themselves, to cast off the inward servitude as they have cast off the outer, seek to convey to mankind the gift of their own distinctive nationality, which is also a personality. And this is the true function of the nation, to make men conscious of the nature and quality of their inward heritage and powers, to help them to know themselves and to find themselves, and so to win faith and strength to spend themselves for their fellow-countrymen and the world. It is the greatest of present-day Nationalists, the philosopher-President of Bohemia, who is both the world's wisest statesman and most practical

internationalist. The difference between Thomas Masaryk and David Lloyd George, between the unwavering steadiness of the one and the flickering uneasy purposes of the other, is the measure of the difference between Bohemia and Wales, to which each, respectively, owes so much of what he is; between the whole and healthy vision of the Czech and the repressed and distorted development of what is still, in the truest sense of the old religious phrase, an unredeemed nationality.

The settlement has brought us, not simply the overthrow of great Empires and their replacement by national republics, but a League of Nations. Here again, achievement — for it is achievement—has brought no quiescence. Men had been taught to believe—and thanks to the short-sightedness of the churches it has been repeated from a thousand pulpits—that the Covenant of the League of Nations was the inauguration of a new era of Christian brotherhood and that the hopes of mankind were inseparably bound up with its success. Had this been so, its rejection by the American Senate, by impairing the universality which was its most distinctive ideal, would have been well-nigh a death blow to our hopes of a better world. We can see now that both our expectations and our disappointment had been pitched too high. The League of Nations is not the Kingdom of Heaven or even its prelude, no more than, in their day, the same could be claimed for the Holy Alliance or the Holy Roman Empire, in spite of the adjective. The League of Nations, as the devoted staff of the Secretariat are well aware, is a piece of machinery, a useful, indeed indispensable instrument, in the special and limited field of government, for carrying out certain objects for which international co-operation

is vitally needed. But it is of the things of Martha, not of the things of Mary ; and its most important achievement, perhaps, will consist in precisely this, that it will teach men, once and for all, and for the first time in modern history, to draw a clear distinction between the external, political, Cæsarian, sphere of activity, the sphere in which the modern world is tending, and rightly tending to a greater uniformity, and the inward, spiritual, personal and national region, in which men owe a duty not to Cæsar, but to God, in which uniformity, whether organized from Geneva or from Rome, or from any centre of external power and supremacy, spells the death of freedom and the betrayal of the Divine. The League of Nations is the best-constructed agency yet devised for rendering Cæsar his due ; and citizenship and all that pertains to it will remain an important side of modern life. But on the threshold of the spiritual its writ ceases, and must always cease, to run. " Where the State ends," said Nietzsche, " Humanity begins," and the peace achieved through Geneva may well be the prelude to an era of warfare in Mansoul.

We are faced then, with this curious and almost ironical situation, that to-day, as in 1815, the protagonists of the external war of liberation, those who seek to make the world tidy and contented, to place visible authority in the hands where it legitimately belongs, are in danger of becoming a reactionary force, not because their purposes are actively evil but because they are blind to the real problem. For the real problem, let it be repeated, is a problem of inner freedom and order, not of outer, and any organisation or propaganda whether internationalist or Socialist, philanthropic or proletarian, which obscures or belies this and holds out hopes of a short cut to the Kingdom

of Heaven is serving as an obstacle to progress in the only region where we now know that progress can be a reality—the region of the spirit.

The same warning holds good, only too tragically, of the Churches. The founder of Christianity was no organizer. He cared not for the rule and formula, for set professions and programmatic activities. He gathered His friends round Him, and when two or three, or a listening multitude, were met together in a happy hour, there the words of life find lodgment in men's souls. The lake and the hillside, the mountain top and the wilderness, were all sanctuaries to him ; and Jew and Samaritan, and Roman, orthodox, heretic and infidel, were free to worship there. Not so our modern associations of so-called believers. Solidly based upon a foundation of material possession and legal right, or upon a binding tradition which is itself almost a material endowment, they draw men to them as organized centres of social influence and philanthropy, not as sources of living power. They meet and confer, they associate and even federate. They plan to evangelise heathendom in a generation and to convert Brahmin and Buddhist, Confucian and Moslem and Jew to what has long since become a European custom rather than the faith of the Palestinian Jesus ; and all the while the base of these varied activities, what with their Master or Saint Francis or Father Damien, or any of the true saints of the Christian lineage, was a radiance of divine influence and infectious joy, is nothing but an empty shell, as bleak and bare as a padlocked Protestant Church on a week-day or as the cold committee rooms where men sit to count the missionary funds which are to convert an unbelieving world to the religion of the thriftless and homeless

Jesus. Where such a condition exists, much of the busy external activity of the Churches, in social and industrial questions at home and in the mission field abroad, is little more than a feverish attempt to evade the haunting suspicion that the true faith and confidence, the true reason for their existence, has disappeared and that they must needs make some parade of usefulness to justify their survival. No imposing structure of federation, no nation-wide or world-wide manifestations of sympathy with the latest advances in the political art, from the League of Nations to Minimum Wage Boards and Joint Industrial Councils, can conceal, either from the world or, in moments of sincere self-analysis, from themselves, the tragic unreality of their position in the modern community. Men look to them for social gatherings and soup-kitchens, for glib generalities and soothing phrases, for the paradoxes of yesterday watered down so as not to offend the most squeamish palate, for second-rate adaptations of the art of the concert-room and the lecture-hall, for anything but the living fire of the Word. Finding, not a stone but a museum of diversified stones, men and women in modern Europe have for some generations past sought elsewhere for the bread of life.

The intensity and earnestness of this search are the sure prelude of the Renaissance. It is reflected in all the active fields of European life. The old Nineteenth Century dogmatism and self-complacency have disappeared, to be replaced in literature and science, as in art and music, by a restlessness, a self-avowed imperfection and disharmony, a candid facing of unsolved problems, which testify to the ferment working within. What a transformation from the serene to the unsatisfied is involved in passing from

Goethe and de Vigny and Carducci and Wordsworth and Thackeray to Ibsen and Nietzsche and Verhæren, to Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells and the younger generation of writers in Europe and America, whose faith has been still more rudely shaken, and the earnestness of their search intensified, by the experience of the war. Modern life in all its most characteristic manifestations, in its insatiable greed for fiction, that narcotic of the soul's restlessness, as tobacco is of the body's, in its unnatural taste for the the distorted, the mechanical, the unreal, for the cinema and the gramophone and the piano-player, is in disharmony and sick at heart ; it is conscious of living at second-hand, of existing, as it were, in an uneasy passivity at the threshold of life, waiting for the door to be unlocked. It knows that life has something better to offer than the flaunting shams of industrial civilization, and the schemes and organization of betterment modelled upon the same mechanical plan. But it knows not whither to look, for its traditional guides are of no avail. They are not even aware of the unspoken need of each growing generation.

Whither then shall men look for guidance ? This is not the place to answer the question in detail. Each country moreover has its own characteristic centres and nuclei of living power. But guides and helpers and means of enlightenment exist everywhere, if men will but accustom themselves to look behind names and conventions to the real activity beneath. Wherever two or three are gathered together in the spirit of true enquiry, whether the purpose be ostensibly social or educational, scientific or professional, political or religious, there the leaven of the Renaissance will be at work. Perhaps adult education is the

phrase that best sums up the varied manifestations of a movement which defies summary description. The physicists are seeking for unity, because from Copernicus to Einstein, they have torn to tatters the old orderly Christian scheme of the universe and made us see man in a new environment of whirling planets and jostling atoms ; and yet they too are men and would know whereof life is made. So too are the biologists, who have taught us, from Darwin to the eugenists, to see life as a correlation of heredity and environment, each so largely determined by "accidental" causes, by the play of chromosome and of social circumstance ; yet for them too, man is more than a mere resultant of biological and social forces. The economists too are searching, for behind all the action and interaction of the stern economic laws which just now are causing misery to millions in a world overflowing with abundance, there are human values which they are increasingly conscious that their study has neglected. So too of the historians, seeking release from the bare and meaningless succession of outward events in the life of States and nations ; and of the geographers, of the students of literature and the plastic arts, and of perhaps the most revealing of all, the history of music, with its plumbline into the submerged region of the consciousness of men and nations.

Here, if but in the briefest suggestion, is a common spirit of search, of hopeful adventure, of mutual association in a joint task, which is not only scientific but spiritual, which heralds a new unity of knowledge and outlook such as men attained to in the Sixteenth Century. For, unlike so many of our modern groupings based on propaganda and defensive apologetics, it is an association of truth-seekers, of men and women

who have felt, each in their own sphere of patient labour, the call of the Unseen, who have followed the call with their whole mind and spirit, along what they feel is for them the way of true life, and who have felt that way expanding, as side-tracks brought in other wayfarers from other fields of truth-seeking, till specialism broadened into humanism and the unrelated data of science into the wide-spreading unity of religion, and of religion rendered self-conscious in philosophy. Thus, while ecclesiasticism has been slumbering with folded hands or mumbling the formulæ of a past generation, has the old mediæval unity, the Universitas of faith and knowledge, been slowly forming under its eyes. The knowledge is there, the spirit is there and the faith is there. All that is required is that men should become conscious of its range, its power, and its unifying potentialities. Mechanism has surrounded the world with its iron girdle. Let the humanists but have the courage to realize that their values are as universal and as all-pervading. This is the good news, the simple tidings, as simple as the New Testament message of the Kingdom, which the patient forerunners of the Renaissance are ready to convey to our iron-bound world. No League is needed, nor any guarantee of an integrity which no creed of written document but only conscience can safeguard from corrosion—only the abiding sense of having attained at length, amid all the confusion of present-day living, to a calm inward order, to a peace which transcends and unifies all the perplexities of understanding, to a path on which men and woman can walk with security and serenity, but with a courage ever vigilant to resist the temptations of compromise, because it is indeed not a Path only but a Truth and a Life—the living reality of Renaissance.

TOWARDS RACIAL RENAISSANCE

" There can be no secure progress, nor even the retention of what has been gained, without struggle and sifting "

THE biologist's ideal is far more than racial health, it is racial vigour in the discharge of wholesome functions in an evolving environment. When the ideal is stated narrowly in terms of hygiene it rarely arouses much enthusiasm; it is thought of too negatively as the absence of disease (though that would be much) instead of being thought of positively as all-round vigour. It is apt to be thought of too individually, whereas its full attainment implies that it is racial, that is to say, enregistered as part of the common inheritance of the nation. Moreover its appeal is weakened by pre-occupation with its bodily aspects, whereas every biologist thinks of the health of the organism as including healthy-mindedness. An opportunity is also missed when the ideal is pictured as merely organismal, whereas it must include the other sides of the prism—function and environment as well as organism; work and place as well as folk.

The Biological Ideal.—The vision that formed part of Sir Francis Galton's " hopeful and virile " creed was that of a nation hereditarily rich in positive health, including health of mind as well as health of body, and including, as an essential corollary, wholesome work and play (improved function) and sur-

roundings at once stimulating and restful (evolving environment). The ideal would stir men's minds more if it were clearly seen to include, in Professor Geddes's terms, *eutechnics* (improved function) and *eutopias* (evolving environment), and if there were a departure from all materialism (or biologism) in the frank avowal that health of mind is inseparable from health of body—unless the standard of the latter is very partial.

It is difficult no doubt to speak precisely in regard to the quality of positive health or vigour. Perhaps, however, it may be said to include harmony of vital activity, some energy to spare, some capacity for initiative, and a reasonable *joie de vivre*. To some degree health is a criterion of morals, for no one who is gluttonous, or a drunkard, or a sexual profligate, can long remain healthy. Moreover, slight lapses from health are often the results of small carelessnesses or self-indulgences, so that the criterion is much subtler than one might at first think. Furthermore, it often, though not always, happens that a course of deception, fraud, and hypocrisy shows itself in ill-health and registers itself on the countenance. The ancient Hebrews were shrewd in their correlation of benevolence with a morning face of happiness. But this cannot be pressed too far since every one knows that an arrant rogue may enjoy the best of health. The wicked may be as glossy as the green bay tree.

This elementary consideration brings us to recognise that for Man the ideal organism is not in itself sufficient. What we all long for is *progress*, which means a balanced movement of society towards the fuller embodiment of those values which mankind at its best has always regarded as best, namely the True and the seeking of it, the Beautiful and the making and enjoy-

ing of it, and the Good and the doing of it—all this coming about in lives which are increasingly satisfactions in themselves. Now the increased realization of these highest values—progress in the true sense—demands two pre-conditions. The first of these is a certain amount of WEALTH, which means mastery of nature so as to have energy to spare, and a certain standard of HEALTH, which means mastery of life. Thus we see the biological ideal in its proper perspective, and it gains in attractiveness. It is for Man not merely an end in itself—for health is always to the good—but as a condition of something higher. It is essential if the higher values are to keep their savour. One can imagine a world of rich and pious invalids, a world of wise sluggards, a world of beautiful melancholics—how one would welcome a vigorous rascal or a joyous rogue.

The Cult of Vigour.—We see, then, several reasons for attaching much importance to that form of racial renaissance which we venture to call the cult of vigour. The first is that vigour or positive health is a pre-condition of enduring progress in the highest sense. The second is that vigour is a condition of national and racial survival. Not the only condition, obviously, for a certain mastery of the resources of Nature (wealth) is essential ; likewise more than a little goodwill in the body politic. But, other things equal, survival will be with the alert, the untiring, the adventurous, the clear-headed, and all these qualities are the expressions of positive health or vigour.

A third reason for thinking more of positive health and resenting more keenly the handicap which its absence implies, is to be found in the unity of the organism. An invalid may be a saint and a healthy man may be a villain, but these cases do not invalidate

the general truth that health makes for virtue rather than for vice. " Her temple face may be chiselled from within " by delicacy as well as by noble thoughts ; and the healthy man may seem rather ugly than otherwise ; but here again the average truth is that health and beauty go hand in hand. Beauty in plants and animals is in part the crown of their healthfulness. Most of the exceptions are due to items in the inheritance which spoil the others or are disharmonious with them. All through the country we see men and women with little natural endowment of beauty who have become artistic unities as the outcome of hard work, healthy living, and neighbourly feelings. Health does not make a man either virtuous or beautiful, and yet it may be said to tend in these directions. The ugly is often the expression of some disharmony in the body or some arrest of development —that is to say, absence of complete health.

Nature All For Health.—The fourth reason for ranking vigour more highly than we usually do is to be found in the fact that Wild Nature is all for health. Towards health means for man a closer attunement with Nature, bringing ourselves into line with the cosmic process, moving in the direction of the main trend of evolution, which is certainly towards health. This does not fit in well with Huxley's thesis that Man must set his ethical face against Nature's régime, which he interpreted (misinterpreted, we think) as diffuse Ishmaelitism and " a dismal cockpit." It becomes very important to inquire carefully if Wild Nature is really " all for health."

It is a remarkable fact that there is almost no constitutional disease in Wild Nature unless man has interfered. By disease is meant a disintegrative and involutionary mode of vital activity—metabolism out

of place, out of time and out of tune. It is a relative conception, for what would be a disease condition in one creature may be regularised or normalised in another, *e.g.*, the secretion of glutinous nest-binding threads from the kidneys of the male stickleback, or the dying away of the bone at the base of a stag's antlers which results in their falling off every year. It is useful to distinguish three kinds of diseases :— (1) microbic or parasitic, such as plague and sleeping-sickness ; (2) modificational disease, due to some deteriorative and disturbing influences in the diet, or in the occupation or in the surroundings ; *e.g.*, beri-beri and lead-poisoning ; and (3) constitutional diseases which seem to be due to some germinal disturbance that breaks the normal harmony of function, as in certain kinds of epilepsy and diabetes.

How do wild animals stand as regards these three kinds of diseases ? Microbic diseases are rare, apart from cases where man has polluted the water or where he has altered the distribution and exposed animals to foes to which they are unaccustomed, as in the case of horses exposed to the Trypanosome of African horse-sickness which the Tse-tse fly carries from some indigenous host, perhaps an antelope, to the newcomer. Many wild animals have their microbes and their larger parasites, but the point is that a live-and-live compromise tends to be established, and there is not what can be called disease. A few exceptions are known, such as a bacterial disease of sand-hoppers, but these cases may turn out to be less exceptional when our knowledge of them is more adequate. A grouse may have thousands of threadworms living as parasites in its food-canal, but they do not seem to matter much unless the bird becomes for other reasons enfeebled. We may say then, that outside of domes-

tication and other forms of human interference, there is little in the way of microbic or parasitic disease in Wild Nature. Now and again the introduction of a new parasite may cause an animal epidemic, and perhaps this is the explanation of the sudden disappearance of some species like the Passenger pigeon in historic times. But wholesale infection is not likely to occur apart from Man.

Modificational diseases are familiar in mankind as the result of unhealthy occupations, in beasts of burden subjected to too great strain, and in captive animals which do not get their natural food and their natural exercise, but they are hardly known in Wild Nature. The reason is simply that wild animals will not readily acquiesce in unnatural conditions. An animal that lives in darkness may have, like the Proteus of the Dalmatian caves, degenerate hidden eyes and no pigment in the skin, but this is not a disease, it is an instance of arrested development due to lack of the proper liberating stimulus—in this case, the light. If the wan Proteus be brought into the light, it develops pigment on its skin; and one investigator states that he induced some degree of normal eye-development by rearing the young stages in the light. There is no evading the general point that Man tolerates deteriorative conditions to which animals refuse to submit themselves. There is almost no modificational disease in Wild Nature.

Constitutional diseases, due primarily to some disturbance in the germ-plasm, or to the dropping out of some important item in the inheritance, are very rare in Wild Nature. If they occur they are probably nipped in the bud. Constitutional disease in Nature is almost a contradiction in terms. It is eliminated in the struggle for existence. There is continual

sifting for health. No doubt there is among wild animals an occasional occurrence of albinism, where the normal pigment does not develop (probably because some particular factor has dropped out of the inheritance); but albinism can hardly be called a disease.

Man's Liability to Disease.—If there is almost no disease in Wild Nature, the question presses: Why does Man show so much? Some of the difficulties in the way of racial renaissance are brought into prominence when we seek to answer this question. The answer is manifold. (*a*) Man is a restless exploring organism, and this means exposure to new microbes. And it is an invasion of the body by a microbe to which the tissues are unaccustomed that is so dangerous. The organism has or may have the ability to produce counteractives to certain microbes and parasites, to whose intrusions it has been subject, but it may be unable to answer-back effectively, when a new invader appears on the scene.

(*b*) There is no getting past the fact that ambition or greed or dire necessity may lead a man to tolerate unwholesome conditions. He often stakes his health defiantly; he often stakes it in despair. It may be even heroic, though it is oftener foolish or tragic; but if disease ensue it cannot, at any rate, be called unexpected. (*c*) Similarly, man's love of pleasure and his liking for narcotics and stimulants which paralyse the sense of fatigue, or "make him forget," lead, like artificiality of life in general, to conditions which favour the onset of disease.

(*d*) On a different plane is the fact that the general human inheritance is not in perfect harmony with the rapidly changing human environment. Our long drawn out food canal (thirty feet or so) was probably

quite convenient when our ancestors had to eat much that was not digestible and had to make the most of good square meals when opportunity offered, but it may be worse than inconvenient now, when the food has relatively little wastage about it, and when meals are served with more or less perfect punctuality. Similarly, the gradual recession of the snout region, beginning in pre-human types and associated with the emancipation of the hand, has involved a crowding of the teeth, whence come many troubles. The very progress of evolution may bring about organismal disharmonies. And apart from troubles involved in the slow process of racial adjustment, much of the handicapping of the individual is often due to some defect or exaggeration in his inheritance. He may be born with very little control or with an overdose of sensitiveness. Sometimes he seems to be born old.

(*e*) But there is a fifth reason, simply that it is not the human practice to select rigorously for health. We care more about other desiderata, for ourselves and for our children. When other things are equal, does the man of better health always get the vacant post? When we are buying a present how often do we ask ourselves which of our possible purchases means the healthiest occupation?

No Senility in Nature.—It seems to be a fact that there is almost no senility in Wild Nature, and that marked senescence is rare. Some simple animals appear to escape natural death altogether, and most wild animals die a violent death in their prime. In the market we sometimes see haddock two feet long, as large as small codfish, and certainly many years old, but they show no marks of senility. Eels have been known to attain a great age, becoming imprisoned in land-locked basins from which they could

not escape to the sea, and eels never spawn in fresh water; but these long-lived eels showed no signs of senility. Now the question arises: Why has man a monopoly of senility? An answer to this question must throw light on the problem of racial renaissance. In Wild Nature, which must be to a large extent Man's Experimental Biological Institute, the sifting is stringently for health and vigour. Whenever there is any hint of "the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin," the creature is marked down and, sooner or later, eliminated. But social sentiments justly prohibit civilized man from eliminating defective or weakly constitutions, and this is one reason for the frequency of human senility. But there are other reasons.

Apart from the rarity of stringent selection for health, senility is due (1) to the accumulation of hereditary handicaps, some children being born old; (2) to the nature of the physiological bad debts which the individual incurs (sclerosed arteries in one case, fatigued kidneys in another, softening of the brain in a third); (3) to the relative weakness of the resting instinct in man, whose big brain makes it difficult for him to switch off his cares and the outer world; and (4) to the fact that the rejuvenescent changes which are feasible for many animals are not available for man except in small measure. We refer, for instance, to prolonged periods of rest.

Ageing appears to be *fundamentally* due, not to an exhaustion of the living matter, but to the wear and tear or the clogging of the delicate intracellular framework which separates the complicated protoplasmic maelstroms; and this breaking down of the laboratory furnishings is of course associated with the auto-intoxicating accumulation of waste-products, with a stoppage of cell-division, and so forth. We mention

this because there is a reason in man's intrinsic complexity of brain why he must be more liable to ageing than a simpler organism. Man is not wholly to blame for his tendency to ageing ; it is in part the tax to pay on being such a fine organism. Man cannot take himself to pieces and reconstruct himself as many of the simpler animals can do ; man cannot rest like a cat or sleep through the winter like a hedgehog ; he cannot replace a worn-out nerve-cell in his brain ; but he can in some measure control the nature of the wear and tear, the clogging and the ashes from which the ageing body suffers ; he can cultivate the resting habit ; he can to some extent—to an ever-increasing extent—secure those changes that make for the prolongation of vigour. He can make sure what he will *not* die of !

The Cleanliness of Wild Nature.—It must be admitted that man is a careless creature. With his head in the air he stumbles and comes to grief gratuitously. One example may serve to make our point clear. It is probably safe to say that the darkest cloud that has ever rested on a large section of the human race is " tropical depression." Huge numbers of natives in various warm countries suffer from apathy, melancholy, and despair, and from the corresponding physiological features of the diseased condition produced by the " hook-worm " parasite. This contemptible little thread-worm enters man's body through cracks in the skin, and it makes life a burden. And how is it continued from generation to generation? The neglect of simple sanitary precautions leads to the soil round the villages becoming thoroughly fouled with the minute larval stages of the Nematodes in question. These readily enter man through cracks on the bare feet. The hygienic campaign financed

by the Rockefeller Institute has in a few years reduced the disease in many areas and there is no reason except man's carelessness why the cloud should not be dispelled altogether.

When we turn to Wild Nature we often find punctilious cleanliness, and, in any case, the general economy of Nature always makes in that direction. There is a continual circulation of matter which keeps land and sea clean and wholesome. Bacteria are always making a clean thing out of an unclean. Materials are ever passing from one incarnation to another; what falls out of the realm of the living is brought into the cycle again. What happens to the "dust of Cæsar" is familiar to all. Dead animals are quickly buried and reduced to purity. Refuse and crumbs are disposed of with suggestive economy. We venture to insist on these things because man's big schemes are so often baulked by inattention to little details. No missionary can cope with tropical depression; the hook-worm will win if it is ignored! These considerations become more cogent when we bear in mind the web of life—the system of linkages and inter-relations that make every creature a retainer to some other part of Nature, as John Locke put it. The thriftless disposal of "crumbs"—crumbs in the widest sense—has largely to do with the untoward multiplication of rats. The rats' shadow, in India especially, is the Black Death or Bubonic plague. We have discussed this sort of thing elsewhere* but we refer to it here because we have no faith in any panacea for racial backwardness. There must be great uplifts of the spirit, but there must also be attention to drainage. It is only by a scientific control of life

* Dendy's *Animal Life and Human Progress.*

all along the line that mankind will be set free for higher adventures.

The Exuberant Health of Wild Animals.—We have spoken of the rarity of disease in Wild Nature, but health is much more than the absence of disease; and what seems to us one of the big facts of Natural History is the prevalence of exuberant healthfulness. Apart from a minority of degenerate and depressed types, and apart also from thoroughgoing parasitism (an evasion of the struggle for existence which Nature winks at with surprising complacency) there is vigour throughout Wild Nature. There is fitness, resourcefulness, reserve of energy, power of initiative, abandon, and joyousness which man may well envy. As Walt Whitman said: "Not one is respectable or unhappy over all the earth." The contrast with human life in civilized communities is painful.

As a contribution to the study of racial renaissance, we have ventured to lay stress on the contrast between Wild Nature and civilization. In Wild Nature there is little trace of disease; in civilized communities disease is rife. In Wild Nature there is almost no senility; in civilized communities it is common and premature. In Wild Nature there is exuberant positive healthfulness; in civilized communities there is overmuch fatigue and neurasthenia, overmuch of what Shakespeare called "soul-harming heaviness." *Can we not learn from Wild Nature?*

The Promotion of Health.—Many of the measures consciously or unconsciously taken in Wild Nature to secure health are not such as civilized man can follow, one reason being that what is biologically desirable may not be socially justifiable. Man cannot imitate the massacre of the drone-bees or the devouring of wasp larvæ in the autumn, though it is not

difficult to find analogies of these among savage peoples. Thus in Central Africa one may find a tribe where those who are sick unto death are exposed in the bush, and another where the King takes poison whenever his physical powers begin to fail. But although this drastic sifting must be left behind, civilized man might select for health much more than he does.

Man cannot indulge in the extraordinary "spring-cleanings" by which some animals secure the continuance of youth, but he can insist on more holiday and change, more real *recreation*. Man cannot counteract the consequence of fatigue by resting for half the year as some animals do, but he might cultivate the resting habit more than he does. He should learn the meaning of such danger-signals as sleeplessness, instead of defying them by persisting in going ahead at full steam! It may not be always practicable to avoid stimulants which dull the sense of fatigue, or bring the wheels away from a dead point, but we should be clear as to the significance of what we do. It is very instructive to notice the case of the half-domesticated hive-bees, in which, as the nemesis of over-industry, the brain-cells pass gradually into a state of fatigue from which there is no recovery. With all their getting, the worker-bees get—not wisdom, but a premature death. There seems little doubt that most cases of nervous breakdown in man are preceded by periods of "nerves" during which the organism sends many warnings to headquarters.

Then, again, man cannot surrender a damaged part as many animals, such as crabs, are able to do, having somehow learned that it is better that one member should perish than that the whole life should be lost. Man cannot surrender a limb, except in amputation,

but there are other things, such as "habits," which can be given up in the interests of health.

It is tedious, however, to continue the list of methods open to animals but closed to man. What can man do? Moreover, while we attach importance to what might be called "Health Hints from Nature," we hope no one will read so hastily as to suppose we are repeating the old cry, "Back to Nature." There is sense in this if it means simpler living and less artificial excitement, more sunshine, more open air, more change, more joy; but the fallacy of the cry is in failing to see that what man has to do is to adjust himself to novel conditions from which there can be no going back.

Books abound which give expert advice on the promotion of individual health—advice as to diet, as to the control of hunger and thirst, and the sex-appetite, as to stimulants and narcotics, as to the proper ways of breathing and walking, as to exercise and rest. We have no new recipe to offer, but we would submit the following general considerations.

(*a*) The standard of health should be pitched high. We surrender too easily—the coercion is often overpowering—to trudging along in the valley, we who have known the heights. We should cultivate not merely a respect for health, but an *enthusiasm*, and that enthusiasm must be loyal to the unity of the organism which is Body-*Mind* as surely as it is Mind-*Body*.

Here for instance we should frankly admit the biological value of the "happiness habit," not a faked exuberance which is nauseating, but a reasonable cheerfulness if we can manage it! For a certain joyousness, if quite natural, acts as a tonic to health, just as health is a tonic to it. Life is full of these far

from vicious circles. A certain *joie de vivre* is very characteristic of birds, some of it should be attainable by reasonable men and women without their becoming "chirpy." The old sayings: "He that is of a merry heart has a continual feast," and "A merry heart is the life of the flesh," are corroborated by the researches of Pavlov and the physiologists of his school. For is it not certain that pleasant emotions favour, for instance, the secretion of the digestive juices, the rhythmic movements of the food-canal, and the absorption of the aliment. To pursue joyousness *in order* to cure indigestion is not a promiseful quest, but, laugh at eupeptic happiness who will, we submit that "civilization depression" is in no small measure due to a neglect of the wellsprings of natural joy—delight in Nature and in our kin being amongst the foremost.

Here, too, in respecting the unity of the organism, justice must be done to the therapeutic value of the imagination. From cherishing a noble purpose and bracing oneself up to pursue it, down to the simpler forms of auto-suggestion, the imagination may be a potent factor towards positive health. That the limit of safety may be crossed by the fanatic at the one end of the inclined plane and the credulous victim of charlatanism at the other, is no argument for neglecting to use our organs.

(*b*) One of the fundamental conditions of secure race-betterment or racial renaissance must be a recognition of the biological trinity:—Organism, Function, Environment; or, in other words, Famille, Travail, Lieu; Folk, Work and Place. The heroic efforts of reformers in the past have often failed to effect what might have been expected because the idea of "Folk, Work and Place" was not clear in the mind

of those who strove to "build Jerusalem." The gardener knows that he must try to secure not only good seed, but good soil, and plenty of sunshine and rain. Yet we persist in expecting great things from efforts which think only of the folk, and nothing of their occupations and surroundings. The breeder of race-horses knows that he must try to secure not only good stock, but likewise a good stable and good oats and proper exercise in the paddock. Yet we look for great things from improvement of occupations, while the vigour of the stock is forgotten, and the street remains or sinks into a slum. Few people can do more than one thing at a time, and every effort towards to "the relief of man's estate" has its reward; but no progress in health or sanitation, or aught else, can be really secure which does not respect the biological trinity. Nor will any one-sided endeavour be rewarded as it deserves to be unless there is betterment on the other sides of the triangle as well.

(*c*) In all thoughts of racial betterment we meet the problem, how far can the inherited "nature" be affected by changes in "nurture," meaning by "nurture" all manner of extrinsic influences, *e.g.*, environmental, nutritional, occupational, and educational. Postponing the question of how far the stamina, the "physique," the "psychique" *of the race* can be affected by changes in individual "nurture," we must point out here that there is no question as to the magnitude of the influence which improved "nurture" may have on the "health" and well-being *of the individual.* Bad seed cannot be changed into good, but as far as the individual is concerned, buds of evil portent can often be inhibited and buds of good promise encouraged. And these desirable nur-

tural effects can be re-impressed on successive generations.

The Eugenic Ideal.—We have been laying emphasis on what may be achieved at any given time by a fresh enthusiasm for health, in the highest and broadest and deepest sense, including the amelioration of functions and surroundings. But we must think of these individual ameliorations in relation to subsequent generations. Here we face the crux of the "nature and nurture" problem. The individual is plastic or modifiable, *but do his gains directly affect the race?* Is there any entailment of individually acquired characters which are induced as the direct results of peculiarities in functions and surroundings? Does "nurture" change "nature"?

Without foreclosing the question, for science must wait for more facts, we must state our personal conviction that there is no sufficient warrant at present for a belief in the transmissibility of an individually acquired bodily modification. There are only about half-a-dozen cases which can be seriously considered as tending towards an affirmative answer to the question: Are extrinsic modifications transmissible? And no one of the half-dozen seems to us to be convincing.

Without dogmatism, then, it may be said that man cannot at present build with confidence on the Lamarckian assumption of the entailment of individual imprints or indents. The raw material of evolution is furnished by *germinal variations* which well forth from the fountain of change that is hidden in the germ plasm. Does this mean that the nurtural gains of the individual count for naught in the progress of the race?

The answer must be (1) that while a particular dexterity, for instance, may not be transmissible as

such or in any representative degree, the general vigour and wholesomeness of the body may strengthen the germ-cells thereof ; (2) that deeply saturating external changes, such as those of climate and food supply, may strengthen or weaken the germ-cells, nourishing them or starving them, stimulating or poisoning them ; (3) that modificational changes in the body, induced by changes in habits and surroundings, may serve, as experiments show, to pull the trigger of germinal variability ; (4) that useful modifications may serve as a screen until analogous variations of germinal origin may have time to establish themselves ; and (5) that when we are dealing with mammals, such as man, and with any mode of reproduction in which the offspring lives in ante-natal partnership with the mother, there is opportunity for the offspring to be very specifically affected by the transfusion of definite metabolic products. Thus it is well-known that hormones from the mammallian mother pass through the placenta into the offspring, and since some of these hormones affect the rate of growth and the activation of particular organs, modifications in the unborn offspring may readily arise. This would be ante-natal modification, though not inheritance in the proper sense. Or again, some disturbance in the carbohydrate metabolism of the mother may result in the production of butyric acid, and we know that butyric acid sometimes induces monstrosities in the offspring. Or again, it has been proved for some mammals that inhalation of alcohol by the mother may prejudice the health of the unborn offspring. The distinction between a congenital character (expressed at birth) and a strictly inherited character (engrained in the germ-plasm) is clear.

Two other points may be mentioned. If useful

dints are not transmitted, the same will hold for injurious dints. If gains are not entailed, the same will hold for losses. So the non-transmission of individually acquired modifications is not such a bad thing after all!

If a collie dog learns to be a clever driver of sheep, this means, in the first place, that it has a fine educable brain, and this aptitude, being the outcome, we believe, of the prolonged selection of germinal variations towards docility, will be transmissible, or, one should rather say, continuable. It means, in the second place, that as the result of training, there have been established correlations of certain nerve-cells with certain muscles. There has been a functional modification. There is, as we have seen, no warrant for asserting that the collie's acquired dexterity can be handed on, but we do know that no one can train a young dog so well as its parent. Generalise this, and we see another reason why individual modifications remain of importance to the race.

The eugenic ideal of improving the heritable constitution of the race requires no commendation. It is an old-fashioned ideal, familiar in Judæa and China, and it is the ideal of old-fashioned people who never heard of eugenics. Shrewd people, like shepherds and gardeners, are as clear as the biologist is about the importance of marrying into a good stock. The question is no longer as to the validity of the ideal, but as to the ways and means of bringing its realisation nearer. "Nurture" is within the control of the individual and the community, but how can the hereditary "nature" be influenced? As Sir Francis Galton frankly put it: "How can we effect an improvement of the human breed, under the present conditions of social sentiment?"

What can be said of *practicable* Eugenics? As Heine said, half laughingly and half bitterly, "a man cannot be too careful in his choice of his parents." We can hardly do that, but we can to some extent choose our partners. It is not absurd to suppose that parentage on the part of the markedly unhealthy should come to be regarded as a social crime. We know, of course, that taints are everywhere—very few of us "the finest Parian"—but there are degrees of unhealthiness which should at once preclude parentage. Any three competent physicians could decide as to cases where the answer to candidates for reproductive matrimony should be an unhesitating "No"; the greater difficulty would be to decide when the answer should be an unhesitating "Yes." It is idle to speak of getting rid of children with very serious constitutional defects and disturbances; first, because medical science does not yet know enough to discriminate except in a few cases; second, because many weaklings and invalids have been makers and shakers of the world; third, because surgical lopping off of bad twigs is not much of a solution if there are more buds of a similar sort coming on; and fourth, because social sentiment cannot at present entertain the proposal. But it is quite another matter to countenance the *propagation* of the unfit, and, as everyone knows, there is already segregation of the mentally diseased and of certain criminals. It does not seem unwise to look for an extended prevention of parentage on the part of those who are *certainly* detrimental to the welfare of the race. Progress is being hindered by the persistent sowing of obviously bad seed, which not only diffuses taints but burdens the community by the costliness of remedial measures. We agree that the education of public opinion is better

than coercion, but there are crimes of parentage which should be made impossible. It is for medical experts to define what these are.

Experiments in the way of *positive* eugenics have remained for the most part individual, though there have been a few large scale efforts such as the settling of considerable numbers of learned and disciplined Jewish "Fellows" in Palestine. But while we are waiting for a multi-millionaire to make what might be the greatest experiment in human history, namely the facilitating of the mating of fine types, we shall do well to set our face against advertising for gardeners "without encumbrances," against dismissing female teachers when they marry, against founding celibate fellowships, and against selfish abstentions from or postponements of marriage on the part of men who are celibates only in name. At the very least we can surely work back towards the pride of race with which our forefathers were imbued, and the philo-progenitiveness which they were not ashamed to admit.

It is when we come to the social plane that we appreciate the full value of improved "nurture." For all ameliorations of functions and surroundings and all the gains of education and discipline, go to enhance the social heritage, the extra-organismal enregistration of progress that has not gripped the germ-plasm. Those who are so convinced—too easily convinced we think—of the slow variability of human nature, should lend their strength the more strenuously to the bettering of the social heritage. For it is this that very largely keeps man from slipping down the rungs of the steep ladder of evolution; it is this that forms the sieve in which new variations are sifted; it is this that forms the milieu in which

new buds are encouraged to unfold or nipped by the frost. The modern study of heredity does not favour the belief that any one can add a new talent to his natural inheritance, but if he can trade well in his social heritage with the talents he has, he will enrich not only himself but society as well.

If we have read the lesson of evolution aright, there can be no secure progress, nor even retention of what has been gained, without struggle and sifting. But in the course of the ages there has been an evolution of the sieves as well as an evolution of the material to be sifted. A new departure on the part of an animal is tested in relation to the ever-complexifying *systema naturæ* in which past steps of progress have been enregistered. This fact lends hopefulness to pushing on with psychical and social reforms—leading to the fuller embodiment of the true, the beautiful, and the good. These must make for racial renaissance, for they make for the evolution of better sieves. We believe in no security of progress unless health is a pre-condition ; but our point is that organic variations in the direction of greater healthfulness will have more chance of surviving if there has been contemporary improvement in the things of the spirit and in the organization of society. The biological ideals of eugenics, eutopias, and eutechnics (improved constitutions, improved work, and improved surroundings) must be associated with eu-psychics and eu-ethics. Or, if these words are too barbarous, we mean that while the natural inheritance is *fundamental,* the social heritage is *supreme.* The biologist is perhaps too apt to be preoccupied with flesh and blood, and with their functions and environment ; but he is beginning to rise to the height of his calling in appreciating the unity of the organism, with a

mental as well as a bodily life. All he proposes to do for or with the body, he is willing to scrutinize in the light of the claims of the mind. But he must go a step farther in recognising that man is a social person, and that the individual's realisation of an enriched and purified natural inheritance demands an enriched and purified social heritage. We must work from below up—else there is no security. We must work from above downwards—else there is little inspiration.

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